# THE FARTHER ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE,

BEING

The SECOND and LAST PART

OF HIS

# LIFE

And of the Strange Surprising

Account of his TRAVELS

Round Three Parts of the Globe.

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Written by HIMSELF.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOLUME II.

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# THE PREFACE.

*THE Success the former Part of this* WORK *has met with in the World, has yet been no other, than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising Variety of the Subject, and to the agreeable Manner of the Performance.*

*All the Endeavours of envious People to reproach it with being a Romance, to search it for Errors in Geography, Inconsistency in the Relation, and Contradictions in the Fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious.*

*The just Application of every Incident, the religious and useful Inferences drawn from every Part, are so many Testimonies to the good Design of making it public, and must legitimate all the Part that may be called Invention or Parable in the Story.*

*The Second Part, if the Editor's Opinion may pass, is (contrary to the Usage of Second Parts) every way as entertaining as the First; contains as*

*ſtrange and ſurpriſing Incidents, and as great a Variety of them; nor is the Application leſs ſerious or ſuitable; and doubtleſs will, to the ſober, as well as ingenious Reader, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging this Work as ſcandalous, as it is knaviſh and ridiculous; ſeeing, to ſhorten the Book, that they may ſeem to reduce the Value, they ſtrip it of all thoſe Reflexions, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greateſt Beauties of the Work, but are calculated for the infinite Advantage of the Reader.*

*By this, they leave the Work naked of its brighteſt Ornament; and yet they would (at the ſame Time they pretend that the Author has ſupplied the Story out of his Invention) take from it the Improvement, which alone recommends that Invention to wiſe and good Men.*

*The Injury theſe Men do to the Proprietors of Works, is a Practice all honeſt Men abhor; and they believe they may challenge them to ſhew the Difference between that and Robbing on the Highway, or breaking open a Houſe.*

*If they cannot ſhew any Difference in the Crime, they will find it hard to ſhew why there ſhould be any Difference in the Puniſhment.*

THE FARTHER

# ADVENTURES

OF

# ROBINSON CRUSOE, &c.

THAT homely proverb, uſed on ſo many occaſions in *England*. *viz. That what is bred in the bone, will not go out of the fleſh*; was never more verified than in the ſtory of my life. Any one would think, that after thirty-five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumſtances, which few men, if ever any, went through before, and after near ſeven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulneſs of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every ſtate of middle life, and to know which was moſt adapted to make a man completely happy; I ſay, after all this, any one would have thought, that the native propenſity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my firſt ſetting out into the world, to have been

ſo predominant in my thoughts, ſhould be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at leaſt condenſed, and I might at 61 years of age have been a little inclined to ſtay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay, farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me, for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to ſeek: If I had gained ten thouſand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already ſufficient for me, and for thoſe I had to leave it to; and that I had, was viſibly increaſing; for having no great family, I could not ſpend the income of what I had, unleſs I would ſet up for an expenſive way of living, ſuch as a great family, ſervants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; ſo that I had nothing indeed to do, but to ſit ſtill, and fully enjoy what I had got, and ſee it increaſe daily upon my hands.

Yet all theſe things had no effect upon me, or at leaſt not enough to reſiſt the ſtrong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical diſtemper; particularly the deſire of ſeeing my new plantation in the iſland, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day; it was uppermoſt in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked ſo ſteadily and ſtrongly upon it, that I talked of it in my ſleep; in ſhort, nothing could remove it out of my mind: It even broke ſo violently into all my diſcourſes, that it made my converſation tireſome; for I could talk of nothing elſe; all my diſcourſe run into it, even to impertinence; and I ſaw it myſelf.

I have often heard perſons of good judgment ſay, that all the ſtir people make in the world about ghoſts and apparitions, is owing to the ſtrength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no ſuch thing as a ſpirit appearing, or a ghoſt walking, and the like. That people's poring affectionately upon the paſt converſation of their deceaſed friends, ſo realizes it to them, that they are capable of fancying upon ſome extraordinary circumſtances, that they ſee them, talk to them, and are anſwered by them; when, in truth, there is nothing but ſhadow and vapour in the thing, and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour, whether there are any ſuch things as real apparitions, ſpectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the ſtories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, ſick minds, and wandering fancies: But this I know, that my imagination worked up to ſuch a height, and brought me into ſuch exceſs of vapours, or what elſe I may call it, that I actually ſuppoſed myſelf oftentimes upon the ſpot, at my old caſtle behind the trees; ſaw my old *Spaniard*, *Friday*'s father, and the reprobate ſailors, whom I left upon the iſland. Nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them ſo ſteadily, tho' I was broad awake, as at perſons juſt before me; and this I did, till I often frightened myſelf with the images my fancy repreſented to me. One time in my ſleep, I had the villainy of the three pirate ſailors ſo lively related to me, by the firſt *Spaniard*, and *Friday*'s father, that it was ſurpriſing; they told me how they barbarouſly

attempted to murder all the *Spaniards*, and that they ſet fire to the proviſions they had laid up on purpoſe to diſtreſs and ſtarve them; things that I had never heard of, and that yet were all of them true in fact: And it was ſo warm in my imagination, and ſo realized to me, that to the hour I ſaw them, I could not be perſuaded, but that it was, or would be true; alſo how I reſented it, when the *Spaniards* complained to me; and how I brought them to juſtice, try'd them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged: What there was really in this, ſhall be ſeen in its place: For however I came to form ſuch things in my dream, and what ſecret converſe of ſpirits injected it, yet there was, *I ſay*, very much of it true. I own that this dream had nothing in it literally and ſpecifically true; but the general part was ſo true, the baſe and villainous behaviour of theſe three hardened rogues was ſuch, and had been ſo much worſe than all I can deſcribe, that the dream had too much ſimilitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſo if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and ſhould have been juſtified both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my ſtory: In this kind of temper I had lived ſome years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleaſant hours, no agreeable diverſion, but what had ſomething or other of this in it; ſo that my wife, who ſaw my mind ſo wholly bent upon it, told me very ſeriouſly one night, that ſhe believed there was ſome ſecret powerful impulſe of providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that ſhe found nothing hindered my going, but my being

engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true, ſhe could not think of parting with me: but as ſhe was aſſured, that if ſhe was dead, it would be the firſt thing I would do; ſo, as it ſeemed to her that the thing was determined above, ſhe would not be the only obſtruction: for, if I thought fit, and reſolved to go-----Here ſhe found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earneſtly at her; ſo that it a little diſordered her, and ſhe ſtopt. I aſked her why ſhe did not go on, and ſay out what ſhe was going to ſay. But I perceived her heart was too full, and ſome tears ſtood in her eyes: Speak out, my dear, ſaid I: Are you willing I ſhould go. No, ſays ſhe, very affectionately, I am far from willing: But if you are reſolved to go, ſays ſhe, rather than I will be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a prepoſterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet if it muſt be, ſaid ſhe again, weeping, I won't leave you; for if it be of heaven, you muſt do it, there is no reſiſting it; and if heaven makes it your duty to go, he will alſo make it mine to go with you, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of me, that I may not obſtruct it.

This affectionate behaviour of my wife, brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to conſider what I was a doing: I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myſelf ſedately, what buſineſs I had, after threeſcore years, and after ſuch a life of tedious ſufferings and diſaſters, and cloſed in ſo happy and eaſy a manner, I ſay, what buſineſs had I to ruſh into new hazards, and put myſelf upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With thoſe thoughts, I conſidered my new engagements, that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to ſeek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of ſeeking to increaſe it; that as to what my wife had ſaid, of its being an impulſe from heaven, and that it ſhould be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; ſo after many of theſe cogitations, I ſtruggled with the power of my imagination, reaſoned myſelf out of it, *as I believe people may always do in like caſes, if they will*; and, in a word, I conquered it; compoſed myſelf with ſuch arguments as occured to my thoughts, and which my preſent condition furniſhed me plentifully with; and particularly, as the moſt effectual method, I reſolved to divert myſelf with other things, and to engage in ſome buſineſs that might effectually tie me up from any more excurſions of this kind; for I found the thing returned upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpoſe I bought a little farm in the county of *Bedford*, and reſolved to remove myſelf thither. I had a little convenient houſe upon it, and the land about it, I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways ſuited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland county, I was removed from converſing among ſhips, ſailors, and things relating to the remote parts of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, ſettled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horſes, cows, ſheep; and, ſetting ſeriouſly to work, became in one half year, a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were intirely taken up in managing my ſervants, cultivating the ground, incloſing, planting, *&c.* and I lived, as I thought, the moſt agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up, or cut down, as I pleaſed: What I planted was for myſelf; and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the leaſt diſcomfort in any part of my life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed that middle ſtate of life, which my father ſo earneſtly recommended to me: A kind of heavenly life, ſomething like what is deſcribed by the poet upon the ſubject of a country life:

*Free from vices, free from care,*
*Age has no pain, and youth no ſnare.*

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unſeen providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me inevitable and incurable; but drove me by its conſequence, upon a deep relapſe into the wandering diſpoſition, which, as I may ſay, being born in my very blood, ſoon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent diſtemper, came

on with an irreſiſtible force upon me; ſo that nothing could make any more impreſſion upon me. This blow was the loſs of my wife.

It is not my buſineſs here to write an elegy upon my wife, to give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the ſex by the flattery of a funeral ſermon. She was in a few words, the ſtay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterpriſes; the engine that by her prudence reduced me to that happy compaſs I was in, from the moſt extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius, than a mother's tears, a father's inſtructions, a friend's counſel, or all my own reaſoning powers, could do. I was happy in liſtening to her tears, and in being moved by her intreaties, and to the laſt degree deſolate and diſlocated in the world by the loſs of her.

When ſhe was gone, the world looked aukwardly round me; I was as much a ſtranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the *Braſils*, when I firſt went on ſhore there; and as much alone, except as to the aſſiſtance of ſervants, as I was in my iſland. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I ſaw the world buſy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other ſquandering in vile exceſſes, or empty pleaſures; equally miſerable, becauſe the end they propoſed ſtill fled from them; for the men of pleaſure every day ſurfeited of their vice, and heaped up work for ſorrow and repentance; and the men of labour ſpent their ſtrength in daily ſtrugglings for bread to maintain the vital ſtrength they laboured with; ſo living in a daily circulation of ſorrow, living but to work,

and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I liv'd in my kingdom, the island; where I suffered no more corn to grow because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them: where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mildew'd, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in 20 years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search further than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, which was either to be possess'd, or at least hoped for on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship, without a pilot, that could only run *afore the wind*; my thoughts run all away again into the old affair; my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures, and all the pleasing innocent amusements of my farm, and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before intirely possest me, were nothing to me; had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste: in a word, I resolv'd to leave off housekeeping, lett my farm, and return to *London*; and in a few months after, I did so.

When I came to *London*, I was ſtill as uneasy as before; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in

God's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the reſt of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This alſo was the thing, which of all circumſtances of life was the moſt my averſion, who had been all my days uſed to an active life; and I would often ſay to myſelf, *a ſtate of idleneſs is the very dregs of life*; and indeed I thought I was much more ſuitably employed, when I was 26 days a making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, *as I have obſerved before*, I had brought up to the ſea, and had made him commander of a ſhip, was come home from a ſhort voyage to *Bilboa*, being the firſt he had made: he came to me, and told me, that ſome merchants of his acquaintance had been propoſing to him to go a voyage for them to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and to *China*, as private traders: *And now, uncle*, ſays he, *if you will go to ſea with me, I'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in the iſland, for we are to touch at the* Braſils.

Nothing can be a greater demonſtration of a future ſtate, and of the exiſtence of an inviſible world, than the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with the ideas of things, which we form in our minds, perfectly reſerv'd, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my diſtemper of wandering was return'd upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to ſay; when that very morning before he came to me, I had, in a great deal of confuſion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumſtances in my mind, come to this reſolution, *viz.* That I would go to *Lisbon*, and conſult with my old ſea-captain; and ſo, if it was rational and practica-

ble, I would go and ſee the iſland again, and ſee what was become of my people there: I had pleaſed myſelf alſo with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the poſſeſſion, and I know not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have ſaid, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

I paus'd a while at his words, and looking ſteadily at him, *what devil*, ſaid I, *ſent you on this unlucky errand?* My nephew ſtartled, as if he had been frighted at firſt; but perceiving I was not much diſpleaſed with the propoſal, he recovered himſelf: I hope it may not be an unlucky propoſal, ſir, *ſays he*; I dare ſay you would be pleas'd to ſee your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity, than moſt of your brother monarchs in the world.

In a word, the ſcheme hit ſo exactly with my temper, that is to ſay, with the prepoſſeſſion I was under, and of which I have ſaid ſo much, that I told him in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him: but I told him, I would not promiſe to go any farther than my own iſland. *Why ſir*, ſays he, *you don't want to be left there again, I hope? Why*, ſaid I, *can you not take me up again in your return?* He told me, it would not be poſſible to do ſo; that the merchants would never allow him to come that way with a loaden ſhip of ſuch value, it being a month's ſail out of his way, and might be three or four. *Beſides, ſir: if I ſhould miſcarry*, ſaid he, and not return at all, *then you would be juſt reduced to the condition you were in before.*

This was very rational; but we both found out a

remedy for it, which was to carry a framed ſloop on board the ſhip, which being taken in pieces, and ſhip'd on board the ſhip, might, by the help of ſome carpenters whom we agreed to carry with us, be ſet up again in the iſland, and finiſh'd, fit to go to ſea in a few days.

I was not long reſolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew, join'd in ſo effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppoſe me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody that concerned themſelves ſo much for me, as to perſuade me one way or other, except my antient good friend the widow, who earneſtly ſtruggled with me to conſider my years, my eaſy circumſtances and the needleſs hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpoſe, I had an irreſiſtible deſire to the voyage; and I told her, I thought there was ſomething ſo uncommon in the impreſſions I had upon my mind for the voyage that it would be a kind of reſiſting providence, if I ſhould attempt to ſtay at home, after which ſhe ceas'd her expoſtulations, and join'd with me, not only in making proviſion for my voyage, but alſo in ſettling my family-affairs in my abſence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and ſettled the eſtate I had in ſuch a manner for my children, and placed it in ſuch hands, that I was perfectly eaſy and ſatisfy'd they would have juſtice done them, whatever might befal me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a ſufficient maintenance to herſelf for her care: all which ſhe richly deſerv'd; for no mo-

ther could have taken more care in their education or underſtood it better; and as ſhe lived till I came home, I alſo liv'd to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to ſail about the beginning of *January*, 1694-5, and I with my man *Friday* went on board, in the *Downs*, the 8th, having beſides that ſloop which I mentioned above, a very conſiderable cargo of all kinds of neceſſary things for my colony, which if I did not find in good condition, I reſolved to leave ſo.

Firſt, I carried with me ſome ſervants whom I purpoſed to place there, as inhabitants, or at leaſt, to ſet on work there upon my own account while I ſtay'd, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they ſhould appear willing; particularly, I carried two carpenters, a ſmith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was alſo a general mechanic; for he was dextrous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn; was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he alſo made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or wood; in a word, we call'd him *our Jack of all trades*.

With theſe I carry'd a taylor, who had offer'd himſelf to go paſſenger to the *Eaſt-Indies* with my nephew, but afterwards conſented to ſtay on our new plantation, and proved a moſt neceſſary handy fellow, as could be deſir'd, in many other buſineſſes, beſides that of his trade; for as I obſerved formerly, neceſſity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of particulars, conſiſted of a ſufficient quantity of linen, and ſome thin *Engliſh* ſtuffs for cloath-

ing the *Spaniards* that I expected to find there; and enough of them, as by my calculation might comfortably ſupply them for ſeven years; if I remember right, the materials which I carry'd for cloathing them, with gloves, hats, ſhoes, ſtockings, and all ſuch things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200*l.* including ſome beds, bedding, and houſhold-ſtuff, particularly kitchen-utenſils, with pots, kettles, pewter, braſs, *&c.* beſides near 100*l.* more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, ſtaples, hooks, hinges, and every neceſſary thing I could think of.

I carried alſo a hundred ſpare arms, muſquets and fuſils, beſides ſome piſtols, a conſiderable quantity of ſhot of all ſizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of braſs cannon; and becauſe I knew not what time, and what extremities, I was providing for, I carry'd an hundred barrels of powder, beſides ſwords and cutlaces, and the iron part of ſome pikes, and halberts, ſo that, in ſhort, we had a large magazine of all ſorts of ſtores; and I made my nephew carry two ſmall quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ſhip, to leave behind, if there was occaſion; that, when they came there, we might build a fort, and man it againſt all ſorts of enemies: and indeed I at firſt thought there would be need enough for it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our poſſeſſion of the iſland, as ſhall be ſeen in the courſe of the ſtory.

I had not ſuch bad luck in this voyage, as I had been uſed to meet with; and therefore ſhall have the leſs occaſion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet ſome odd accidents, croſs winds, and bad wea-

ther happen'd, on this firſt ſetting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at firſt; and I who had never made but one voyage, *viz. my firſt voyage to* Guinea, in which I might be ſaid to come back again, as the voyage was at firſt deſigned, began to think the ſame ill fate ſtill attended me; and that I was born to be never contented with my own ſhore, and yet to be always unfortunate at ſea.

Contrary winds firſt put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at *Galway* in *Ireland*, where we lay windbound two-and-thirty days; but we had this ſatisfaction with the diſaſter, that proviſions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmoſt plenty: ſo that while we lay here, we never touched the ſhip's ſtores, but rather added to them; here alſo I took ſeveral hogs, and two cows with their calves, which I reſolv'd, if I had a good paſſage, to put a-ſhore in my iſland, but we found occaſion to diſpoſe otherwiſe of them.

We ſet out the 5th of *February* from *Ireland*, and had a very fair gale of wind for ſome days; as I remember, it might be about the 20th of *February* in the evening, late, when the mate, having the watch, came into the round-houſe, and told us, he ſaw a flaſh of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatſwain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing; but in a few minutes we ſaw a very great light, and found that there was ſome very terrible fire at a diſtance; immediately we had recourſe to our reckonings, in which we all agreed, that there could be no land that way,

in which the fire ſhewed itſelf, no, not for 500 leagues; for it appeared at W. N. W. Upon this we concluded it muſt be ſome ſhip on fire at ſea; and as by our hearing the noiſe of guns juſt before, we concluded it could not be far off, we ſtood directly towards it, and were preſently ſatisfied we ſhould diſcover it, becauſe the farther we ſailed, the greater the light appear'd, tho' the weather being hazy, we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while; in about half an hour's ſailing, the wind being fair for us, tho' not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly diſcern, that it was a great ſhip on fire in the middle of the ſea. I was moſt ſenſibly touched with this diſaſter, though not at all acquainted with the perſons engaged in it; I preſently recollected my former circumſtances, in what condition, I was in, when taken up by the *Portugueſe* captain; and how much more deplorable the circumſtances of the poor creatures belonging to the ſhip muſt be, if they had no other ſhip in company with them: upon this, I immediately ordered, that five guns ſhould be fired one ſoon after another, that, if poſſible, we might give notice to them, that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to ſave themſelves in their boat; for though we could ſee the flame in the ſhip, yet they, it being night, could ſee nothing of us.

We lay by ſome time upon this, only driving as the burning ſhip drove, waiting for day-light; when on a ſudden, to our great terror, though we had reaſon to expect it, the ſhip blew up in the air, and immediately, that is to ſay, in a few minutes, all the fire was out, that is to ſay, the reſt of the ſhip ſunk: this was terri-

ble, and indeed an afflicting ſight, for the ſake of the poor men, who, I concluded, muſt be either all deſtroyed in the ſhip, or be in the utmoſt diſtreſs in their boats, in the middle of the ocean, which, at preſent, by reaſon it was dark, I could not ſee: however, to direct them as well as I could, I cauſed lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ſhip where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ſhip not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we diſcovered the ſhip's boats, by the help of our perſpective-glaſſes: and found there were two of them, both throng'd with people, and deep in the water; we perceived they row'd, the wind being againſt them; that they ſaw our ſhip, and did the utmoſt to make us ſee them.

We immediately ſpread our ancient, to let them know we ſaw them; and hung a waſt out, as a ſignal for them to come on board; and then made more ſail ſtanding directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them, and in a word, took them all in, being no leſs than ſixty-four men, woman and children; for there were a great many paſſengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a *French* merchant-ſhip of 300 tons, homeward-bound from *Quebeck*, in the river of *Canada*. The maſter gave us a long account of the diſtreſs of his ſhip, how the fire began in the ſteerage by the negligence of the ſteerſman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, intirely put out: but they ſoon found, that ſome ſparks of the firſt fire had gotten into ſome part of the ſhip, ſo difficult to come at, that they could not effectually

quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the cieling of the ſhip, it proceeded into the hold, and maſtered all the ſkill, and all the application, they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then, but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long-boat, and a great ſhallop, beſides a ſmall ſkiff, which was of no great ſervice to them other than to get ſome freſh water and proviſions into her, after they had ſecured themſelves from the fire. They had indeed ſmall hope of their lives by getting into theſe boats at that diſtance from any land; only as they ſaid well, that they were eſcaped from the fire, and had a poſſibility, that ſome ſhip might happen to be at ſea, and might take them in. They had ſails, oars, and a compaſs; and were preparing to make the beſt of their way to *Newfoundland*, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an eaſy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much proviſions and water, as, with ſparing it ſo as to be next door to ſtarving, might ſupport them about 12 days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain ſaid, he hoped he might get to the banks of *Newfoundland*, and might perhaps take ſome fiſh to ſuſtain them till they might go on ſhore. But there were ſo many chances againſt them in all theſe caſes; ſuch as ſtorms to overſet and founder them; rains and cold to benumb and periſh their limbs; contrary winds to keep them out, and ſtarve them; that it muſt have been next to miraculous, if they had eſcaped.

In the midſt of their conſultations, every one being hopeleſs and ready to deſpair, the captain with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a ſudden ſurpris'd

with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; theſe were the five guns which I cauſed to be fir'd at firſt on ſeeing the light: this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, *as above*, I deſign'd it ſhould, *viz.* that there was a ſhip at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing theſe guns, that they took down their maſts and ſails; and the ſound coming from the windward, they reſolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muſquets, one a conſiderable while after another; but theſe, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were ſtill more agreeably ſurpriſed with ſeeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have ſaid, I cauſed to be fired all the reſt of the night; this ſet them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at leaſt that we might the ſooner come up with them; and at laſt, to their inexpreſſible joy, they found we ſaw them.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs the ſeveral geſtures, the ſtrange ecſtaſies, the variety of poſtures, which theſe poor delivered people run into, to expreſs the joy of their ſouls at ſo unexpected a deliverance; grief and fear are eaſily deſcribed; ſighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands, make up the ſum of its variety: but an exceſs of joy, a ſurpriſe of joy, has a thouſand extravagancies in it; there were ſome in tears, ſome raging and tearing themſelves, as if they had been in the greateſt agonies of ſorrow; ſome ſtark raving and downright lunatic; ſome ran about the ſhip ſtamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; ſome were dancing, ſome ſinging, ſome laughing, more

crying; many quite dumb, not able to ſpeak a word; others ſick and vomiting, ſeveral ſwooning, and ready to faint; and a *few* were croſſing themſelves and giving God thanks.

I would not wrong them neither; there might be many that were thankful afterward; but the paſſion was too ſtrong for them at firſt, and they were not able to maſter it: they were thrown into ecſtaſies and a kind of frenzy, and ſo there were but a very few who were compos'd and ſerious in their joy.

Perhaps alſo the caſe may have ſome addition to it, from the particular circumſtance of the nation they belonged to; I mean the *French*, whoſe temper is allowed to be more volatile, more paſſionate, and more ſprightly, and their ſpirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not philoſopher enough to determine the cauſe, but nothing I had ever ſeen before came up to it: the ecſtaſies poor *Friday, my truſty Savage*, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the neareſt to it; and the ſurpriſe of the maſter, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that ſet them on ſhore in the iſland, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I ſaw in *Friday*, or any-where elſe in my life.

It is farther obſervable, that theſe extravagancies did not ſhew themſelves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different perſons only: but all the variety would appear in a ſhort ſucceſſion of moments, in one and the ſame perſon. A man that we ſaw this minute dumb, and, as it were, ſtupid and confounded, ſhould the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antick; and the next moment tearing his hair, or

pulling his cloaths to pieces, and ſtamping them under his feet like a madman; a few minutes after that, we ſhould have him all in tears, then ſick, then ſwooning; and had not immediate help been had, would, in a few moments more, have been dead; and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greateſt part of them; and, if I remember right, our ſurgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two prieſts among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was ſtrangeſt was, that the oldeſt man was the worſt.

As ſoon as he ſet his foot on board our ſhip, and ſaw himſelf ſafe, he dropped down ſtone-dead, *to all appearance*; not the leaſt ſign of life could be perceived in him; our ſurgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ſhip that believed he was not dead: and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having firſt chafed and rubbed the part, ſo as to warm it as much as poſſible; upon this the blood, which only dropped at firſt, flowed ſomething freely; in three minutes after the man open'd his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that, he ſpoke, grew better, and, in a little time, quite well: after the blood was ſtopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the ſurgeon gave him, and was, what we called *come to himſelf*; about a quarter of an hour after this, they came running into the cabin to the ſurgeon, who was bleeding a *French* woman that had fainted; and told him, the prieſt was gone ſtark mad. It ſeems he had began to revolve the change of his circumſtances in his mind, and this put him into an ecſtaſy of

joy; his ſpirits whirled about faſter than the veſſels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feveriſh; and the man was as fit for *Bedlam*, as any creature that ever was in it: the ſurgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him ſomething to doze and put him to ſleep, which, after ſome time, operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly compoſed, and well.

The younger prieſt behaved himſelf with great command of his paſſion, and was really an example of a ſerious well governed mind; at his firſt coming on board the ſhip, he threw himſelf flat on his face, proſtrating himſelf in thankfulneſs for his deliverance; in which I unhappily and unſeaſonably diſturbed him, really thinking he had been in a ſwoon; but he ſpake calmly; thanked me; told me, he was giving God thanks for his deliverance, begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his maker, he would give me thanks alſo.

I was heartily ſorry that I diſturbed him; and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him alſo; he continued in that poſture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him; then came to me, as he had ſaid he would, and, with a great deal of ſeriouſneſs and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, that had, under God, given him, and ſo many miſerable creatures their lives: I told him, I had no room to move him to thank God for it, rather than me: for I had ſeen, that he had done that already: but I added, that it was nothing but what reaſon and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reaſon as he to give thanks to God, who had bleſſed

us ſo far as to make us the inſtruments of his mercy to ſo many of his creatures.

After this, the young prieſt applied himſelf to his country folks, laboured to compoſe them; perſuaded, intreated, argued, reaſoned with them, and did his utmoſt to keep them within the exerciſe of their reaſon; and with ſome he had ſucceſs, tho' others were, for a time, out of all government of themſelves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be uſeful to thoſe into whoſe hands it may fall, in the guiding themſelves in all the extravagancies of their paſſions; for if an exceſs of joy can carry men out to ſuch a length beyond the reach of their reaſon, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind, carry us to? And indeed, here I ſaw reaſon for keeping an exceeding watch over our paſſions of every kind, as well thoſe of joy and ſatisfaction, as thoſe of ſorrow and anger.

We were ſomething diſordered by theſe extravagancies among our new gueſts for the firſt day; but when they had been retired, lodging provided for them as well as our ſhip would allow, and they had ſlept heartily, as moſt of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another ſort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindneſs ſhewn them, was wanting; the *French*, 'tis known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain, and one of the prieſts, came to me the next day; and, deſiring to ſpeak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to conſult with us what ſhould be done with them; and firſt they told us, that, as we had ſaved their lives, ſo all they had

was little enough for a return to us for the kindneſs received. The captain ſaid, they had ſaved ſome money, and ſome things of value in their boats, catch'd haſtily out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only deſired to be ſet on ſhore ſomewhere in our way, where if poſſible, they might get a paſſage to *France*.

My nephew was for accepting their money at firſt word, and to conſider what to do with them afterwards, but I over-ruled him in that part; for I knew what it was to be ſet on ſhore in a ſtrange country; and if the *Portugal* captain, that took me up at ſea, had ſerved me ſo, and took all I had for my deliverance, I muſt have ſtarved, or have been as much a ſlave at the *Braſils*, as I had been at *Barbary*, the being ſold to a *Mahometan* only excepted; and perhaps a *Portugueſe* is not a much better maſter than a *Turk*, if not, in ſome caſes, a much worſe.

I therefore told the *French* captain, that we had taken them up in their diſtreſs, it was true; but that it was our duty to do ſo, as we were fellow creatures, and as we would deſire to be ſo delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them, but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their caſe, and they in ours; but that we took them up to ſerve them not to plunder them; and that it would be a moſt barbarous thing, to take that little from them which they had ſav'd out of the fire, and then ſet them on ſhore, and leave them; that this would be firſt to ſave them from death, and then kill them ourſelves; ſave them

from drowning, and then abandon them to ſtarving; and therefore I would not let the leaſt thing be taken from them: As to ſetting them on ſhore, I told them indeed, that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the ſhip was bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and though we were driven out of our courſe to the weſtward a very great way, which perhaps was directed by heaven on purpoſe for their deliverance, yet it was impoſſible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, anſwer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to purſue his voyage by the way of *Braſil*; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourſelves in the way of meeting with other ſhips homeward-bound from the *Weſt-Indies*, and get them paſſage, if poſſible, to *England* or *France*.

The firſt part of the propoſal was ſo generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a great conſternation, eſpecially the paſſengers, at the notion of being carried away to the *Eaſt-Indies*; they then intreated me, that ſeeing I was driven ſo far to the weſtward before I met with them, I would at leaſt keep on the ſame courſe to the banks of *Newfoundland*, where it was poſſible I might meet with ſome ſhip or ſloop that they might hire to carry them back to *Canada*, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reaſonable requeſt on their part; and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I conſidered, that to carry this whole company to the *Eaſt-Indies*, would not only be an intolerable ſeverity to the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our proviſions; ſo I

thought it no breach of charty-party, but what an unforeſeen accident made abſolutely neceſſary to us; and in which no one could ſay we were to blame; for the laws of God and nature would have forbid, that we ſhould refuſe to take up two boats full of people in ſuch a diſtreſſed condition; and the nature of the thing as well reſpecting ourſelves, as the poor people, obliged us to ſee them on ſhore ſomewhere or other, for their deliverance; ſo I conſented that we ſhould carry them to *Newfoundland*, if wind and weather would permit; and, if not, that I would carry them to *Martinico* in the *Weſt-Indies*.

The wind continued freſh eaſterly, but the weather pretty good; and as it had blowed continually in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we miſſed ſeveral opportunities of ſending them to *France*; for we met ſeveral ſhips bound to *Europe*, whereof two were *French*, from St. *Chriſtopher*'s; but they had been ſo long beating up againſt the wind, that they durſt take in no paſſengers for fear of wanting proviſions for the voyage, as well for themſelves as for thoſe they ſhould take in; ſo we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this, that we made the banks of *Newfoundland*, where, to ſhorten my ſtory, we put all our *French* people on board a bark, which they hired at ſea there, to put them on ſhore, and afterwards to carry them to *France*, if they could get proviſion to victual themſelves with: When, I ſay, all the *French* went on ſhore, I ſhould remember, that the young prieſt I ſpoke of, hearing we were bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, deſired to go the voyage with us, and to be ſet on ſhore on the coaſt of *Coromandel*: I readily a-

greed to that; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reaſon, as will appear afterwards; alſo four of the ſeamen entered themſelves in our ſhip, and proved very uſeful fellows.

From hence we directed our courſe for the *Weſt-Indies*, ſteering away S. and S. by E. for about 20 days together, ſometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another ſubject for our humanity to work upon, almoſt as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes N. and the 19th day of *March*, 1694-5, when we eſpied a ſail, our courſe S. E. and by S. We ſoon perceived it was a large veſſel, and that ſhe bore up to us; but could not at firſt know what to make of her, till, after coming a little nearer, we found ſhe had loſt her main-top-maſt, fore-maſt, and boltſprit; and preſently ſhe fires a gun as a ſignal of diſtreſs; the weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a freſh gale, and we ſoon came to ſpeak with her.

We found her a ſhip of *Briſtol*, bound home from *Barbadoes*, but had been blown out of the road at *Barbadoes*, a few days before ſhe was ready to ſail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on ſhore; ſo that beſide the terror of the ſtorm, they were but in an indifferent caſe for good artiſts to bring the ſhip home: they had been already nine weeks at ſea, and had met with another terrible ſtorm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the weſtward, and in which they loſt their maſts, as above; they told us they expected to have ſeen the *Bahama* iſlands, but were then driven away again to the ſouth-eaſt, by a

ſtrong gale of wind at N. N. W. the ſame that blew now, and having no ſails to work the ſhip with, but a main-courſe, and a kind of ſquare ſail upon a jury-fore-maſt, which they had ſet up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to ſtand away for the *Canaries*.

But that which was worſt of all, was, that they were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſions, beſides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and fleſh was quite gone, they had not one ounce left in the ſhip, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had, was, their water was not all ſpent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had ſugar enough; ſome ſuccades or ſweet-meats they had at firſt, but they were devoured, and they had ſeven caſks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-ſervant, on board, who were going paſſengers, and thinking the ſhip was ready to ſail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and, having no proviſions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the reſt; for the ſeamen, begin reduced to ſuch an extreme neceſſity themſelves, had no compaſſion, we may be ſure, for the poor paſſengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their miſery is very hard to deſcribe.

I had perhaps, not known this part, if my curioſity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ſhip; The ſecond mate, who upon this occaſion commanded the ſhip, had been on board our ſhip; and he told me indeed, that they had three paſſengers in the great cabin, that they were

in a deplorable condition; nay, ſays he, I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to inquire after them, ſaid he, for I had nothing to relieve them with.

We immediately applied ourſelves to give them what relief we could ſpare; and indeed I had ſo far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to *Virginia*, or any part of the coaſt of *America*, to have ſupplied ourſelves: but there was no neceſſity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them: the mate or commander brought ſix men with him in his boat; but theſe poor wretches looked like ſkeletons, and were ſo weak, they could hardly ſit to their oars: The mate himſelf was very ill, and half-ſtarved; for he declared he had reſerved nothing from the men, and went ſhare and ſhare alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat ſparingly, but ſet meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be ſick, and out of order; ſo he ſtopt a while and our ſurgeon mixed him up ſomething with ſome broth, which he ſaid would be to him both food and phyſick, and after he had taken it, he grew better: In the mean time, I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it: they were ſo exceeding hungry, that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themſelves; and two of them eat with ſo much greedineſs, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The ſight of theſe peoples diſtreſs was very moving

to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible proſpect of at my firſt coming on ſhore in my iſland, where I had not the leaſt mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it; beſides the hourly apprehenſion I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miſerable condition of the ſhip's company, I could not put out of my thought the ſtory he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin; (*viz.*) the mother, her ſon, and the maid-ſervant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days; and whom he ſeemed to confeſs they had wholly neglected, there own extremities being ſo great; by which I underſtood, that they had really given them no food at all; and that therefore they muſt be periſhed, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men to refreſh them, ſo I alſo forgot not the ſtarving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go aboard the ſhip, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a ſack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our ſurgeon charged the men to cauſe the meat to be boiled while they ſtayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men's taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a little at a time; and by this caution he preſerved the men, who would otherwiſe have killed themſelves with that very food that was given them on purpoſe to ſave their lives.

At the ſame time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and ſee in what condition the poor paſſengers were in, and, if they were alive, to comfort

them, and give them what refreſhment was proper; and the ſurgeon gave him a large pitcher with ſome of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not queſtion would reſtore them gradually.

I was not ſatisfy'd with this; but, as I ſaid above, having a great mind to ſee the ſcene of miſery, which I knew the ſhip itſelf would preſent me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ſhip, as we now called him, with me, and went myſelf a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almoſt in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready: But my mate obſerved his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after uſing all poſſible perſuaſion to have patience, kept them off by force: However, he cauſed ſome biſcuit-cakes to be dipped in the pot, and ſoftened them with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, and gave them every one one, to ſtay their ſtomachs, and told them it was for their own ſafety that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain, and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and ſome threats alſo of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words indeed are of very ſmall force to an hungry belly: However we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiouſly for the firſt time, and the next time gave them more, and at laſt filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as, *first*, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true, that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days, it might be said, they had really had no food at all, and for several days before, very little.

The poor mother, who, as the first mate reported, was a woman of good sense, and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she intirely sunk under it: and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth; she open'd her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating, that it was too late for her; but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth; and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not: but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hard-

ly any life left in him; he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the reſt of it; however, being young, and having more ſtrength than his mother, the mate got ſomething down his throat, and he began ſenſibly to revive, though by giving him ſome time after but two or three ſpoonfuls extraordinary, he was very ſick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid; ſhe lay all along upon the deck hard by her miſtreſs, and juſt like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and ſtruggled for life: her limbs were diſtorted, one of her hands was claſped round the frame of a chair, and ſhe griped it ſo hard, that we could not eaſily make her let it go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, ſet faſt againſt the frame of the cabin-table; in ſhort, ſhe lay juſt like one in the laſt agonies of death; and yet ſhe was alive too.

The poor creature was not only ſtarved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her miſtreſs, whom ſhe ſaw dying two or three days before, and whom ſhe loved moſt tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our ſurgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, and with great application recover'd her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her fooleſes, for ſhe was little leſs than diſtracted for a conſiderable time after; as ſhall appear preſently.

Whoever ſhall read theſe *memorandums*, muſt be deſired to conſider, that viſits at ſea are not like a journey into the country, where ſometimes people ſtay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our buſineſs was to

relieve this diſtreſſed ſhip's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to ſteer the ſame courſe with us for ſome days, yet we could carry no ſail to keep pace with a ſhip that had no maſts: however, as their captain begged of us to help him to ſet up a main-top-maſt, and a kind of top-maſt to his jury-fore-maſt, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days, and then having given him five barrels of beef and pork, two hogſheads of biſcuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could ſpare; and taking three caſks of ſugar and ſome rum, and ſome pieces of eight of them for ſatisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earneſt requeſt, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about ſeventeen years of age, a pretty, well bred, modeſt, and ſenſible youth; greatly dejected with the loſs of his mother, and, as it ſeems, had loſt his father but a few months before at *Barbadoes*. He begged of the ſurgeon to ſpeak to me, to take him out of the ſhip; for he ſaid, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; *and indeed ſo they had*, that is to ſay, *paſſively*; for they might have ſpared a ſmall ſuſtenance to the poor helpleſs widow, that might have preſerv'd her life, though it had been juſt to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no juſtice, no right; and therefore is remorſeleſs, and capable of no compaſſion.

The ſurgeon told him how far we were going, and how it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumſtances almoſt, as we found them in; that is to ſay, ſtarving in the world.

He ſaid he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had ſaved his life, and he was ſure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was ſure, if ſhe came to herſelf, ſhe would be very thankful for it, let us carry them whither we would. The ſurgeon repreſented the caſe ſo affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board with all their goods, except eleven hogſheads of ſugar, which could not be removed, or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander ſign a writing, obliging him to go, as ſoon as he came to *Briſtol*, to one Mr. *Rogers*, a merchant there, to whom the youth ſaid he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceaſed widow; which I ſuppoſe was not done; for I could never learn, that the ſhip came to *Briſtol*; but was, as is moſt probable, loſt at ſea, being in ſo diſabled a condition, and ſo far from any land, that I am of opinion, the firſt ſtorm ſhe met with afterwards, ſhe might founder in the ſea; for ſhe was leaky, and had damage in her hold when I met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, tho' at firſt the winds had been contrary. I ſhall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, *&c.* on the reſt of our voyage; but ſhortening my ſtory for the ſake of what is to follow, ſhall obſerve that I came to my old habitation, the iſland, on the 10th of *April*, 1695. It was with no ſmall difficulty

that I found the place: for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the ſouth and eaſt-ſide of the iſland, as coming from the *Braſils* ſo now coming in between the main and the iſland, and having no chart for the coaſt, nor any land-mark, I did not know it when I ſaw it, or know whether I ſaw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on ſhore on ſeveral iſlands in the mouth of the great river *Oroonoque*, but none for my purpoſe; only this I learn'd by my coaſting the ſhore, that I was under one great miſtake before, *viz.* that the continent which I thought I ſaw from the iſland I lived in, was really no continent, but a long iſland, or rather a ridge of iſlands, reaching from one to the other ſide of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the ſavages who came to my iſland, were not properly thoſe which we call *Carribees*, but iſlanders, and other *Barbarians* of the ſame kind, who inhabited ſomething nearer to our ſide than the reſt.

In ſhort, I viſited ſeveral of the iſlands to no purpoſe; ſome I found were inhabited, and ſome were not. On one of them I found ſome *Spaniards*, and thought they had lived there; but, ſpeaking with them, found they had a ſloop lay in a ſmall creek hard by, and that they came thither to make ſalt, and catch ſome pearl-muſcels, if they could; but they belonged to the iſle *de Trinidad*, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coaſting from one iſland to another, ſometimes with the ſhip, ſometimes with the *Frenchman*'s ſhallop (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will) at length I came

fair on the ſouth-ſide of my iſland, and I preſently knew the very countenance of the place; ſo I brought the ſhip ſafe to an anchor, broadſide with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As ſoon as I ſaw the place, I called for *Friday*, and aſk'd him, if he knew where he was? He look'd about a little, and preſently clapping his hands, cried; *O yes, O there, O yes, O there*, pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the ſea, to ſwim aſhore to the place.

Well, *Friday*, ſaid I, do you think we ſhall find any body here or no? And what do you think, ſhall we ſee your father? The fellow ſtood mute as a ſtock a good while; but when I nam'd his father, the poor affectionate creature look'd dejected; and I could ſee the tears run down his face very plentifully. What is the matter, *Friday*, ſaid I? Are you troubled becauſe you may ſee your father? No, no, *ſays he*, ſhaking his head, no ſee him more no ever-more again. *Why ſo*, ſaid I, Friday? *How do you know that?* O no, O no, ſays *Friday*, he long ago die; long ago, he much old man. Well, well, *ſaid I, Friday*, you don't know: but ſhall we ſee any one elſe then? The fellow, it ſeems, had better eyes than I, and he points juſt to the hill above my old houſe; and tho' we lay half a league off, he cries out, me ſee! me ſee! yes, yes, me ſee much man there, and there, and there. I look'd, but I could ſee nobody, no, not with a proſpective-glaſs; which was, I ſuppoſe, becauſe I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day,

and there were five or ſix men altogether ſtood to look at the ſhip, not knowing what to think of us.

As ſoon as *Friday* had told me he ſaw people, I caus'd the *Engliſh* ancient to be ſpread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceiv'd a ſmoke riſe from the ſide of the creek; ſo I immediately order'd a boat out, taking *Friday* with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on ſhore, taking with me the young frier I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole ſtory of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of my ſelf, and thoſe that I left there; and who was on that account extremely deſirous to go with me. We had beſides about ſixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new gueſts there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on ſhore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the firſt man I fixed my eye upon, was the *Spaniard* whoſe life I had ſaved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I ſhall deſcribe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on ſhore at firſt but myſelf, but there was no keeping *Friday* in the boat; for the affectionate creature had ſpied his father at a diſtance, a good way off of the *Spaniards*, where indeed I ſaw nothing of him; and if they had not let him go on ſhore, he would have jumped into the ſea. He was no ſooner on ſhore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man ſhed tears, in ſpite of the firmeſt reſolution, to have ſeen the firſt tranſports of this poor fellow's joy,

when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kiſſed him, ſtroaked his face, took him up in his arms, ſet him down upon a tree, and lay down by him. then ſtood and looked at him, as any one would look at a ſtrange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lay down upon the ground, and ſtroaked his legs and kiſs'd them, and then got up again, and ſtar'd at him: one would have thought the fellow bewitched: but it would have made a dog laugh to ſee how the next day his paſſion ran out another way: in the morning he walked along the ſhore, to-and-again, with his father ſeveral hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now-and-then would come to fetch ſomething or other for him to the boat, either a lump of ſugar, or a dram, a biſcuit, or ſomething or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolicks ran another way, for then he would ſet the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and made a thouſand antick poſtures and geſtures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one ſtory or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In ſhort, if the ſame filial affection was to be found in chriſtians to their parents, in our parts of the world, one would be tempted to ſay, there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digreſſion; I return to my landing. It would be endleſs to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the *Spaniards* received me with. The firſt *Spaniard*, whom as I ſaid, I knew very well, was he whoſe life I ſaved; he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce alſo; and

he did not only not know me at firſt, but he had no thoughts no notion, of its being me that was come, till I ſpoke to him: ſeignior, ſaid I, in *Portugueſe*, do you not know me? At which he ſpoke not a word; but giving his muſquet to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and ſaying ſomething in *Spaniſh* that I did not perfectly hear, came forward, and embraced me, telling me he was inexcuſable, not to know that face again, that he had once ſeen, as of an angel from heaven, ſent to ſave his life: he ſaid abundance of very handſome things, as a well bred *Spaniard* always knows how; and then beckoning to the perſon that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then aſked me, if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me poſſeſſion of my own houſe again, and where I ſhould ſee there had been but mean improvements; ſo I walked along with him; but alas! I could no more find the place again, than if I had never been there; for they had planted ſo many trees, and placed them in ſuch a poſture, ſo thick and cloſe to another, in ten years time they were grown ſo big, that, *in ſhort*, the place was inacceſſible, except by ſuch windings, and blind ways, as they themſelves only who made them, could find.

I aſked them, what put them upon all theſe fortifications? He told me, I would ſay there was need enough of it, when they had given an account how they had paſſed their time ſince their arriving in the iſland, eſpecially after they had the misfortune to find, that I was gone: he told me he could not but have ſome ſatisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ſhip, and to my ſatisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a ſtrong perſuaſion, that one time or

other he ſhould ſee me again: But nothing that ever befel him in his life, he ſaid, was ſo ſurpriſing and afflicting to him at firſt, as the diſappointment he was under when he came back to the iſland, and found I was not there.

As to the three *Barbarians* (ſo he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he ſaid he had a long ſtory to tell me; the *Spaniards* all thought themſelves much better among the ſavages, only that their number was ſo ſmall. And, ſays he, had they been ſtrong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he croſſed himſelf upon the breaſt: But, ſir, ſays he, I hope you will not be diſpleaſed, when I ſhall tell you how, forced by neceſſity, we were obliged, for our own preſervation, to diſarm them, and making them our ſubjects, who would not be content with being moderately our maſters, but would be our murderers. I anſwered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the iſland, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in poſſeſſion of every thing firſt, and left the other in a ſtate of ſubjection, as they deſerved: But if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and ſhould be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of miſchief.

While I was ſaying this, came the man whom he had ſent back, and with him eleven men more: In the dreſs they were in, it was impoſſible to gueſs what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. Firſt he turned to me, and pointing

to them, ſaid, theſe, ſir, are ſome of the gentlemen, who owe their lives to you; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one not as if they had been ſailors and ordinary fellows and I the like, but really, as if they had been ambaſſadors or noblemen, and I a monarch, or a great conqueror: Their behaviour was to the laſt degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly majeſtic gravity which very well became them; and, in ſhort, they had ſo much more manners than I, that I ſcarce knew how to receive their civilities, much leſs how to return them in kind.

The hiſtory of their coming to, and conduct in the iſland, after my going away, is ſo remarkable, and has ſo many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to underſtand, and which will, in moſt of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of thoſe that come after me.

I ſhall no longer trouble the ſtroy with a relation in the firſt perſon, which will put me to the expence of ten thouſand *ſaid I's*, and *ſaid he's*, and he *told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like; but I ſhall collect the facts hiſtorically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me and from what I met with in my converſing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this ſuccinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I muſt go back to the circumſtance in which I left the iſland, and which the perſons were in, of whom I am to ſpeak. At firſt it is neceſſary to repeat, that

I had ſent away *Friday*'s father and the *Spaniard*, the two whoſe lives I had reſcued from the ſavages; I ſay, I had ſent them away in a large canoe to the main, *as I then thought it*, to fetch over the *Spaniard*'s companions whom he had left behind him, in order to ſave them from the like calamity that he had been in; and in order to ſuccour them for the preſent, and that, if poſſible, we might together find ſome way for our deliverance afterward.

When I ſent them away, I had no viſible appearance of, or the leaſt room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much leſs had I any foreknowledge of what after happened, I mean of an *Engliſh* ſhip coming on ſhore there to fetch me off, and it could not but be a very great ſurpriſe to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three ſtrangers left on the ſpot, poſſeſſed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwiſe have been their own.

The firſt thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I deſired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I ſent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather, and a ſmooth ſea; for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he ſaid, but that they were overjoyed to ſee him: (It ſeems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the veſſel they had been ſhipwrecked in, having been dead ſome time:) They were, he ſaid, the more ſurpriſed to ſee him,

becauſe they knew that he was fallen into the hands of ſavages, who, they were ſatisfy'd, would devour him, as they did all the reſt of their priſoners, that when he told them the ſtory of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furniſhed for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them; and their aſtoniſhment, they ſaid, was ſomething like that of *Joſeph*'s brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the ſtory of his exaltation in *Pharaoh*'s court: But when he ſhewed them the arms, the powder, the ball and the proviſions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were reſtored to themſelves, took a juſt ſhare of the joy of their deliverance and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their firſt buſineſs was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to ſtick ſo much upon the honeſt part of it, but to treſpaſs upon their friendly ſavages, and to borrow two large canoes or periagua's, on pretence of going out a fiſhing, or for pleaſure.

In theſe they came away the next morning; it ſeems they wanted no time to get themſelves ready for they had no baggage, neither cloaths or proviſions, or any thing in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they uſed to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks abſent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occaſion offered for my eſcape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the iſland; leaving three of the moſt impudent, hardened, ungoverned, diſagreeable villains behind me, that any man could deſire to meet with, to

the poor *Spaniards* great grief and diſappointment, you may be ſure.

The only juſt thing the rogues did, was, that when the *Spaniards* came to ſhore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them proviſions, and other relief as I had ordered them to do; alſo they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there, the way how I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats, and planted my corn, how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did; all this being written down, they gave to the *Spaniards*, two of whom underſtood *Engliſh* well enough; nor did they refuſe to accommodate the *Spaniards* with any thing elſe, for they agreed very well for ſome time; they gave them an equal admiſſion into the houſe, or cave, and they began to live very ſociably; and the head *Spaniard*, who had ſeen pretty much of my method, and *Friday*'s father together, managed all their affairs; for, as for the *Engliſhmen*, they did nothing but ramble about the iſland, ſhoot parrots, and catch tortoiſes, and when they came home at night, the *Spaniards* provided their ſuppers for them.

The *Spaniards* would have been ſatisfied with this, would the other but have let them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long; but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themſelves, and would not let others eat neither: the differences, nevertheleſs, were at firſt but trivial, and ſuch as are not worth relating; but at laſt it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeneſs

and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed, to common sense; and tho' it is true, the first relation of it came from the *Spaniards* themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that, just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would turn to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased, till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time, he threatened to carry them in irons to *England*, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship.

This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frighted some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it in the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present, till they should come to some *English* port; and that then they should be all put into a goal, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired, that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate, and satisfy the men, and tell them, that

they might be aſſured, if they behaved well the reſt of the voyage, all they had done for the time paſt, ſhould be pardoned. So I went, and after paſſing *my honour's* word to them, they appeared eaſy, and the more ſo, when I cauſed the two men, who were irons, to be releaſed and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind alſo falling calm; next morning we found, that our two men who had been laid in irons, had ſtole each of them a muſquet, and ſome other weapons; what powder or ſhot they had, we know not; and had taken the ſhip's pinnace, which was not yet haled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery, on ſhore.

As ſoon as we found this, I ordered the long-boat on ſhore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to ſeek the rogues; but they could neither find them, nor any of the reſt; for they all fled into the woods, when they ſaw the boat coming on ſhore. The mate was once reſolved in juſtice to their roguery to have deſtroyed their plantations, burnt all their houſhold ſtuff and furniture, and left them to ſhift without it; but having no order he let all alone, left every thing as they found it, and, bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

Theſe two men made their number five, but the other three villains were ſo much wickeder than theſe, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to ſhift for themſelves, and would have nothing to do with them, nor could they, for a good while, be perſuaded

to give them any food; as for the *Spaniards*, they were not yet come.

When the *Spaniards* came first on shore, the business began to go forward; the *Spaniards* would have persuaded the three *English* brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it: So the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the *Spaniards* having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug and planted, and inclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well; their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread and other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice, and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in a little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs:

that the governor, meaning me, had given them poſſeſſion of it, and nobody elſe had any right to it; and, damn them, they ſhould build no houſes upon their ground, unleſs they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jeſted at firſt; and aſked them to come and ſit down, and ſee what fine houſes they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded: And one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped, if they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the cuſtom of all landlords, grant them a long leaſe, and bid them go fetch a ſcrivener to draw the writings. One of the three, damning and raging, told them, they ſhould ſee they were not in jeſt; and going to a little place at a diſtance, where the honeſt men had made a fire to dreſs their victuals, he takes a fire-brand, and claps it to the outſide of their hut and very fairly ſet it on fire; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thruſt him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without ſome difficulty too.

The fellow was in ſuch a rage at the honeſt man's thruſting him away, that he turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, ſeeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muſquets; and the man that was firſt ſtruck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down, who began the quarrel, with the ſtock of his muſquet, and that before the other two

could come to help him; and then ſeeing the reſt come at him, they ſtood together, and preſenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them ſtand off.

The other had fire-arms with him too; but one of the two honeſt men, bolder than his comrade, and made deſperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were all dead men; and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but, ſeeing him reſolute, it brought them to a parley, and they conſented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and indeed, it ſeems the fellow was wounded ſufficiently with the blow; however, they were much in the wrong, ſince they had the advantage, that they did not diſarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the *Spaniards*, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains ſtudied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them ſome intimation that they did ſo.

But not to croud this part with an account of the leſſer part of their rogueries, ſuch as treading down their corn, ſhooting three young kids, and a ſhe-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their ſtore; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner; it forced the two men to ſuch a deſperation, that they reſolved to fight them all three the firſt time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this they reſolved to go to the caſtle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the *Spaniards* all lived together, at that time, in-

tending to have a fair battle, and the *Spaniards* ſhould ſtand by to ſee fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the *Engliſhmen* by their names, telling a *Spaniard* that anſwered, that they wanted to ſpeak with them.

It happened that the day before, two of the *Spaniards*, having been in the woods, had ſeen one of the two *Engliſhmen*, whom, for diſtinction, I call the *honeſt men;* and he had made a ſad complaint to the *Spaniards*, of the barbarous uſage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and deſtroyed their corn, that they had laboured ſo hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their ſuſtenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the *Spaniards*, did not aſſiſt them again, they ſhould be ſtarved. When the *Spaniards* came home at night, and they were all at ſupper, he took the freedom to reprove the three *Engliſhmen*, though in gentle and mannerly terms, and aſked them, how they could be ſo cruel, they being harmleſs inoffenſive fellows, and that they were putting themſelves in a way to ſubſiſt by their labour, and that it had coſt them a great deal of pains to bring things to ſuch a perfection as they had.

One of the *Engliſhmen* returned very briſkly, What had they to do there? That they came on ſhore without leave, and that they ſhould not plant or build upon the iſland; it was none of their ground. Why, ſays the *ſpaniard*, very calmly, *ſeignior* Ingleſs, *they muſt not ſtarve*, The *Engliſhman* replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpaulin, they might ſtarve and be damn-

ed, they ſhould not plant, nor build in that place. *But what muſt they do then, Seignior?* ſays the *Spaniard.* Another of the brutes returned, do! d----n them, they ſhould be ſervants, and work for them. *But how can you expect that of them? They are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them ſervants.* The *Engliſhmen* anſwered, the iſland was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themſelves; and with that ſwore by his maker, that he would go and burn all their new huts; they ſhould build none upon their land.

*Why, Seignior,* ſays the *Spaniard, by the ſame rule, we muſt be your ſervants too.* Ay, ſays the bold dog, and ſo you ſhall too, before we have done with you, mixing two or three G----d d----mme's in the proper intervals of his ſpeech. The *Spaniard* only ſmiled at that, and made him no anſwer. However, this little diſcourſe had heated them; and ſtarting up, one ſays to the other, I think it was he they called *Will Atkins,* come, *Jack,* let us go and have t'other bruſh with them; we'll demoliſh their caſtle, I'll warrant you; they ſhall plant no colony in our dominions.

Upon this, they were all trooping away, with every man a gun, a piſtol, and a ſword, and muttered ſome inſolent things among themſelves, of what they would do to the *Spaniards* too, when opportunity offered; but the *Spaniards,* it ſeems, did not ſo perfectly underſtand them, as to know all the particulars; only, that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two *Engliſhmen*'s part.

Whither they went, or how they beſtowed their time that evening, the *Spaniards* ſaid, they did not

know; but it ſeems they wandered about the country, part of the night; and then lying down in the place, which I uſed to call my bower, they were weary, and overſlept themſelves. The caſe was this: they had reſolved to ſtay till midnight, and ſo take the poor men when they were aſleep; and they acknowledged it afterwards, intending to ſet fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: And as malice ſeldom ſleeps very ſound, it was very ſtrange they would not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had alſo a deſign upon them, as I have ſaid, tho' a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came thither, and found the men gone, *Atkins*, who it ſeems was the forwardeſt man, called out to his comrades, ha! *Jack*, here's the neſt; but, d----n them, the birds are flown: They muſed a while to think what ſhould be the occaſion of their being gone abroad ſo ſoon, and ſuggeſted preſently, that the *Spaniards* had given them notice of it; and with that they ſhook hands, and ſwore to one another, that they would be revenged of the *Spaniards*. As ſoon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not ſet fire indeed to any thing, but they pulled down both their houſes, and pulled them ſo limb from limb, that they left not the leaſt ſtick ſtanding, or ſcarce any ſign on the ground where they ſtood; they tore all their little

collected houſhold-ſtuff in pieces, and threw every thing about in ſuch a manner, that the poor men found afterwards, ſome of their things a mile off from their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; pulled up the incloſure they had made to ſecure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, ſacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a herd of *Tartars* would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had reſolved to fight them where-ever they had been, tho' they were but two to three: So that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodſhed among them; for they were all very ſtout, reſolute fellows, to give them their due.

But providence took more care to keep them aſunder, than they themſelves could do to meet; for, as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again; we ſhall ſee their differing conduct preſently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, fluſhed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the *Spaniards*, and told them what they had done, by way of ſcoff and bravado; and one of them ſtepping up to one of the *Spaniards*, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, ſleering in his face, ſays to him, *And you*, Seignior Jack Spaniard, *ſhall have the ſame ſauce, if you do not mend your man-*

*ners.* The *Spaniard*, who, though quite a civil man, was as brave as a man could be desired to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him, for a good while; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stept gravely up to him, and, with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-ax; at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the *Spaniard* immediately; he missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the *Spaniard* believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, so before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped, and took the fellow's musquet whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the *Spaniards*, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stept in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the *Spaniards* their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and, giving the *Spaniards* better words, would have had their arms again; but the *Spaniards*, considering the feud that was between them and the other two *Englishmen*, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared

ſo reſolved to do miſchief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their ſervants.

The rogues were now more capable to hear reaſon, than to act reaſon; but being refuſed their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms; But the *Spaniards*, deſpiſing their threatening, told them they ſhould take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for, if they did, they would ſhoot them, as they would do ravenous beaſts, whereever they found them; and, if they fell into their hands alive, they would certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, ſwearing and raging like furies of hell. As ſoon as they were gone, came back the two men in paſſion and rage enough alſo, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demoliſhed and deſtroyed, as above, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed they had provocation enough; they could ſcarce have room to tell their tale, the *Spaniards* were ſo eager to tell them theirs; and it was ſtrange enough to find, that three men ſhould thus bully nineteen, and receive no puniſhment at all.

The *Spaniards* indeed deſpiſed them, and eſpecially having thus diſarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two *Engliſhmen* reſolved to have their remedy againſt them, what pains ſoever it coſt to find them out.

But the *Spaniards*, interpoſed here too, and told them, that they were already diſarmed; they could not conſent, that they (the two) ſhould purſue them with

fire-arms, and perhaps kill them: But, ſaid the grave *Spaniard* who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you juſtice, if you will leave it to us; for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their paſſion is over, being not able to ſubſiſt without our aſſiſtance, we promiſe you to make no peace with them, without having a full ſatisfaction for you; and upon this condition we hope you will promiſe to uſe no violence with them, other than in your defence.

The two *Engliſhmen* yielded to this very aukwardly, and with great reluctance; but the *Spaniards* proteſted, they did it only to keep them from bloodſhed, and to make all eaſy at laſt; for, ſaid they, we are not ſo many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we ſhould not be all good friends. At length they did conſent, and waited for the iſſue of the thing, living for ſome days with the *Spaniards;* for their own habitation was deſtroyed.

In about five days time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almoſt ſtarv'd with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my *Spaniard,* who, *as I have ſaid,* was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the ſide of the creek; they came up in a very ſubmiſſive humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The *Spaniards* uſed them civily, but told them, they had acted ſo unnaturally by their countrymen, and ſo very groſly by them (the *Spaniards*) that they could not come to any concluſion without conſulting the two *Engliſhmen,* and the reſt; but, however, they would go to them, and

diſcourſe about it, and they ſhould know in half an hour. It may be gueſs'd, that they were very hard put to it; for it ſeems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an anſwer, they begged he would ſend them out ſome bread in the mean time; which he did, and ſent them at the ſame time a large piece of goat's fleſh, and a broil'd parrot; which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's conſultation they were called in, and a long debate had about them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a deſign to murder them; all which they own'd before, and therefore could not deny now; upon the whole, the *Spaniards* acted the moderators between them; and as they had obliged the two *Engliſhmen* not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, ſo they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows two huts, one to be of the ſame dimenſions, and the other larger than they were before; alſo to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of thoſe pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had ſpoiled it; and, in a word, to reſtore every thing in the ſame ſtate as they found it, as near as they could; for intirely it could not be, the ſeaſon for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being poſſible to be recover'd.

Well, they all ſubmitted to this; and as they had plenty of proviſions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole ſociety began to live pleaſantly and agreeably together again; only that theſe three fellows could never be perſuaded to work; I

mean, not for themſelves, except now-and-then a little, juſt as they pleaſed; however, the *Spaniards* told them plainly, that if they would but live ſociably and friendly together, and ſtudy in the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleaſed; and thus having liv'd pretty well together for a month or two, the *Spaniards* gave them their arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had theſe arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as inſolent and troubleſome as before; but however, an accident happened preſently upon this, which endangered the ſafety of them all; they were obliged to lay by all private reſentments, and look to the preſervation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the *Spaniard* governor, as I call him, that is to ſay, the *Spaniard* whoſe life I had ſaved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the reſt, found himſelf very uneaſy in the night, and could by no means get any ſleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the ſtory, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any ſleep; in ſhort he lay a great while; but, growing more and more uneaſy, he reſolved to riſe: as they lay, being ſo many of them, upon goat ſkins, laid thick upon ſuch couches and pads, as they made for themſelves, and not in hammocks and ſhip-beds, as I did, who was but one; ſo they had little to do, when they were willing to riſe, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps puton

a coat, ſuch as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that there thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he look'd out; but, being dark, he could ſee little or nothing; and beſides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is deſcribed, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his ſight, ſo that he could only look up, and ſee that it was a clear ſtar light night; and, hearing no noiſe, he return'd and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not ſleep, nor could he compoſe himſelf to any thing like reſt, but his thoughts were to the laſt degree uneaſy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made ſome noiſe with riſing and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them wak'd, and, calling, aſk'd, who it was that was up? The governor told him, how it had been with him: ſay you ſo? ſays the other *Spaniard*; ſuch things are not to be ſlighted, I aſſure you; there is certainly ſome miſchief working, ſays he, near us; and preſently he aſk'd him, where are the *Engliſhmen?* They are all in their huts, *ſays he*, ſafe enough. It ſeems, the *Spaniards* had kept poſſeſſion of the main apartment, and had made a place, where the three *Engliſhmen*, ſince their laſt mutiny, always quartered by themſelves, and could not come at the reſt. Well, ſays the *Spaniard*, there is ſomething in it, I am perſuaded from my own experience; I am ſatisfied our ſpirits embodied, have converſe with, and receive intelligence from the ſpirits unimbodied, and inhabiting the inviſible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make uſe of it. Come, *ſays he*, let us go out, and look abroad: and if we find nothing at all in it to juſtify our

trouble, I'll tell you a ſtory to the purpoſe, that ſhall convince you of the juſtice of my propoſing it.

In a word, they went out to go to the top of the hill, where I uſed to go; but they being ſtrong, and in good company, not alone, as I was, uſed none of my cautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up a ſecond ſtage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned and unweary, when they were ſurpriſed with ſeeing a light, as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one, or two, but of a great number.

In all the diſcoveries I had made of the ſavages landing on the iſland, it was my conſtant care to prevent them making the leaſt diſcovery of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any neceſſity they came to know it, they felt it ſo effectually, that they that got away, were ſcarce able to give any account of it, for we diſappeared as ſoon as poſſible, nor did ever any that had ſeen me, eſcape to tell any one elſe, except it were the three ſavages in our laſt encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned, that I was afraid they ſhould go home, and bring more help.

Whether it was the conſequence of the eſcape of thoſe men, that ſo great a number came now together; or whether they came ignorantly, and by accident, on their uſual bloody errand; the *Spaniards* could not it ſeems underſtand: but whatever it was, it had been their buſineſs, either to have conceal'd themſelves, and not have ſeen them at all; much leſs to have let the ſavages have ſeen, that there were any inhabi-

tants in the place; but to have fallen upon them ſo effectually, as that not a man of them ſhould have eſcaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats; but this preſence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt, but that the governor, and the man with him, ſurpriſed with this ſight, ran back immediately, and raiſed their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impoſſible to perſuade them to ſtay cloſe within where they were, but that they muſt run all out to ſee how things ſtood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough for ſome hours, to view them by the light of three fires, they had made at ſome diſtance from one another; what they were doing, they knew not, and what to do themſelves, they knew not; for, firſt, the enemy were too many; and ſecondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into ſeveral parties, and were on ſhore in ſeveral places.

The *Spaniards* were in no ſmall conſternation at this ſight; and as they found, that the fellows ran ſtraggling all over the ſhore, they made no doubt, but, firſt or laſt, ſome of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon ſome other place where they would ſee the tokens of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity alſo for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little leſs than ſtarving them if they ſhould have been deſtroy'd; ſo the firſt thing they reſolv'd upon, was to diſpatch three men away before it

was light, *viz.* two *Spaniards* and one *Engliſhman*, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itſelf.

Could they have ſeen the ſavages altogether in one body, and at any diſtance from their *Canoes*, they reſolved, if there had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them; but that could not be obtained, for, they were ſome of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having muſed a great while on the courſe they ſhould take, and beaten their brains in conſidering their preſent circumſtances; they reſolv'd at laſt, while it was dark, to ſend the old ſavage (*Friday*'s father) out, as a ſpy, to learn, if poſſible, ſomething concerning them, as what they came for, and what they intended to do, *and the like*; the old man readily undertook it, and, ſtripping himſelf quite naked, as moſt of the ſavages were, away he went: after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiſcover'd, that he found they were two parties, and of two ſeveral nations, who had war with one another, and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both ſides having had ſeveral priſoners taken in the fight, they were by mere chance landed in the ſame iſland, for the devouring their priſoners, and making merry; but their coming ſo by chance to the ſame place, had ſpoil'd all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were ſo near, that he believ'd they would fight again, as ſoon as day-light began to appear but he did not per-

ceive, that they had any notion of any body's being on the iſland but themſelves. He had hardly made an end of telling the ſtory, when they could perceive by the unuſual noiſe they made, that the two little armies were engag'd in a bloody fight.

*Friday*'s father uſed all the arguments he could to perſuade our people to lie cloſe, and not be ſeen; he told them, their ſafety conſiſted in it, and that they had nothing to do but to lie ſtill, and the ſavages would kill one another to their hands, and the reſt would go away; and it was ſo to a tittle. But it was impoſſible to prevail, eſpecially upon the *Engliſhmen*; their curioſity was ſo importunate upon their prudentials, that they muſt run out and ſee the battle: however, they uſed ſome caution, *viz.* they did not go openly, juſt by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themſelves to advantage, where they might ſecurely ſee them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be ſeen by them; but, it ſeems, the ſavages did ſee them, as we ſhall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and, if I might believe the *Engliſhmen*, one of them ſaid, he could perceive, that ſome of them were men of great bravery, of invincible ſpirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they ſaid, held two hours, before they could gueſs which party would be beaten; but then that party which was neareſt our people's habitation, began to appear weakeſt, and after ſome time more, ſome of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great conſternation, leſt any of thoſe that fled, ſhould run into the grove, before their dwelling, for ſhelter, and thereby involuntarily diſcover the place;

and that by conſequence the purſuers ſhould do the like in ſearch for them. Upon this they reſolved, that they would ſtand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they ſhould ſally out over the wall, and kill them; ſo that if poſſible, not one ſhould return to give an account of it; they ordered alſo, that it ſhould be done with their ſwords, or by knocking them down with the ſtock of the muſquet, not by ſhooting them, for fear of raiſing an alarm by the noiſe.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life, and croſſing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the leaſt knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for ſhelter; the ſcout they kept to look abroad, gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great ſatisfaction, *viz.* That the conquerors had not purſued them, or ſeen which way they were gone. Upon this, the *Spaniard* governor, a man of humanity, would not ſuffer them to kill the three fugitives; but, ſending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and come in behind them, ſurpriſe and take them priſoners, which was done; the reſidue of the conquered people fled to their *Canoes*, and got off to ſea; the victors retired, and made no purſuit, or very little; but, drawing themſelves into a body together, gave two great ſcreaming ſhouts, which they ſuppoſed were by way of triumph, and ſo the fight ended: And the ſame day about three o'clock in the afternoon, they alſo marched to their *Canoes*. And thus the *Spaniards* had their iſland again free to them-

ſelves, their fright was over, and they ſaw no ſavages in ſeveral years after.

After they were all gone, the *Spaniards* came out of their den; and, viewing the field of battle, they found about two and thirty dead men upon the ſpot; ſome were killed with great long arrows, ſeveral of which were found ſticking in their bodies; but moſt of them were killed with their great wooden ſwords, ſixteen or ſeventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows: Theſe ſwords were great unwieldy things, and they muſt be very ſtrong men that uſed them: Moſt of thoſe men that were killed with them, had their heads maſhed to pieces, as we may ſay, or, as we call it in *Engliſh*, their brains knocked out, and ſeveral of their arms and legs broken; ſo that it is evident they fight with inexpreſſible rage and fury; they found not one wounded man that was not ſtone dead; for either they ſtay by their enemy till they have quite killed them, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our *Engliſhmen* for a great while; The ſight had filled them with horror, and the conſequence appeared terrible to the laſt degree, eſpecially upon ſuppoſing that ſome time or other they ſhould fall into the hands of thoſe creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they profeſſed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was ſuppoſed it was not to be till they were dead, had ſomething in it ſo horrible, that it nauſeated their very ſtomachs, made them ſick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with unuſ-

al terror, that they were not themſelves for ſome weeks after.

This, as I ſaid, tamed even the three *Engliſh* brutes I have been ſpeaking of; and for a great while after, they were very tractable, and went about the common buſineſs of the whole ſociety well enough; planted, ſowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country: but ſome time after this, they fell all into ſuch ſimple meaſures again as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three priſoners, as I had obſerved; and theſe three being luſty ſtout young fellows, they made them ſervants, and taught them to work for them; and, as ſlaves, they did well enough; but they did not take their meaſures with them, as I did by my man *Friday*, *viz.* to begin with them upon the principle of having ſaved their lives, and then inſtruct them in the rational principles of life, much leſs of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind uſage, and affectionate arguings; but, as they gave them their food every day, ſo they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but, they failed in this by it, that they never had them to aſſiſt them and fight for them, as I had my man *Friday*, who was as true to me as the very fleſh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part; being all now good friends (for common danger, as I ſaid above, had effectually reconciled them) they began to conſider their general circumſtances; and the firſt thing that came under their conſideration was, whether, ſeeing the ſavages particularly haunted that ſide of the iſland, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it

equally adapted to their way of living, and manifeſtly to their advantage, they ſhould not rather remove their habitation, and plant in ſome more proper place for their ſafety, and eſpecially for the ſecurity of their cattle and corn?

Upon this, after long debate, it was conceived, that they would not remove their habitation; becauſe that ſome time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I ſhould ſend any one to ſeek them, I would be ſure to direct them on that ſide, where, if they ſhould find the place demoliſhed, they would conclude the ſavages had killed us all, and we were gone, and ſo our ſupply would go away too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper to both, and where indeed there was land enough: However, upon ſecond thoughts, they altered one part of that reſolution too, and reſolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and ſo, if one part was deſtroyed, the other might be ſaved: And one piece of prudence they uſed, which it was very well they did; *viz.* That they never truſted theſe three ſavages, which they had taken priſoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much leſs of the cave there, which they kept in caſe of neceſſity, as a ſafe retreat; and thither they carried alſo the two barrels of powder, which I had ſent them at my coming away.

But, however, they reſolved not to change their ha-

bitation; yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it firſt with a wall or fortification, and then with a grove of trees; ſo, ſeeing their ſafety conſiſted intirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced; they ſet to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before: To this purpoſe, as I had planted trees (or rather thruſt in ſtakes, which in time all grew to be trees) for ſome good diſtance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the ſame manner, and filled up the reſt of that whole ſpace of ground, from the trees I had ſet, quite down to the ſide of the creek, where, as I ſaid, I landed my floats, and even into the very ouze where the tide flowed, not ſo much as leaving any place to land, or any ſign that there had been any landing thereabout: Theſe ſtakes alſo, being of a wood very forward to grow, as I have noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than thoſe which I had planted, and placed them ſo very thick and cloſe, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any conſiderable way into the plantation: As for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed ſo many other ſhort ones, and ſo thick, that, in a word, it ſtood like a paliſado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impoſſible to penetrate it, but with a little army, to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they ſtood ſo cloſe.

But this was not all; for they did the ſame by all the ground to the right-hand, and to the left, and

round even to the top of the hill; leaving no way, not ſo much as for themſelves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the ſide of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the firſt ſtage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to aſſiſt it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived: Nor was it leſs than what they afterwards found occaſion for; which ſerved to convince me, that as human prudence has authority of providence to juſtify it, ſo it has, doubtleſs, the direction of providence to ſet it to work; and, would we liſten carefully to the voice of it, I am fully perſuaded we might prevent many of the diſaſters which our lives are now by our own negligence ſubjected to. But this by the way.

I return to the ſtory: They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more viſits from the ſavages; they had indeed, an alarm given them one morning, which put them in a great conſternation; for, ſome of the *Spaniards*, being out early one morning on the weſt-ſide, or rather end of the iſland, which, by the way, was that end where I never went, for fear of being diſcovered, they were ſurpriſed with ſeeing above twenty *Canoes* of *Indians*, juſt coming on ſhore.

They made the beſt of their way home, in hurry enough; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept cloſe all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make obſervations: But they had the good luck to be miſtaken; for where-ever the ſavages went,

they did not land at that time on the iſland, but purſued ſome other deſign.

And now they had another broil with the three *Engliſhmen*; one of which, a moſt turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three ſlaves, which I mentioned they had taken, becauſe the fellow had not done ſomething right which he bid him do, and ſeemed a little untractable in his ſhewing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he wore it by his ſide, and fell upon the poor ſavage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the *Spaniards*, who was by, ſeeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but ſtruck into his ſhoulder, ſo that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and, intreating him not to murder the poor man, clapt in between him and the ſavage, to prevent the miſchief.

The fellow, being enraged the more at this, ſtruck at the *Spaniard* with his hatchet, and ſwore he would ſerve him as he intended to ſerve the ſavage; which the *Spaniard* perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a ſhovel, which he had in his hand (for they were working in the field about their corn-land,) knocked the brute down: Another of the *Engliſhmen*, running at the ſame time to help his comrade, knocked the *Spaniard* down; and then two *Spaniards* more came to help their man, and a third *Engliſhman* fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except the third *Engliſhman;* he had one of my old ruſty cutlaces, with which he made at the laſt *Spaniards*, and wounded both: This fray ſet the whole family in an uproar,

and more help coming in, they took the three *Engliſhmen* priſoners: The next queſtion was, What they ſhould do with them? They had been ſo often mutinous, and were ſo furious, ſo deſperate, and ſo idle withal, that they knew not what courſe to take with them, for they were miſchievous to the higheſt degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man, ſo that, in ſhort, it was not ſafe to live with them.

The *Spaniard* who was governour, told them in ſo many words, if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them all; for all laws, and all governors were to preſerve ſociety; and thoſe who were dangerous to the ſociety, ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were *Engliſhmen*, and that it was to the generous kindneſs of an *Engliſhman* that they all owed their preſervation and deliverance, he would uſe them with all poſſible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two *Engliſhmen*, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honeſt *Engliſhmen* ſtood up, and ſaid, They deſired it might not be left to them: *For*, ſays he, *I am ſure we ought to ſentence them to the gallows*; and with that gives an account, how *Will Atkins*, one of the three, had propoſed to have all the five *Engliſhmen* join together, and murder all the *Spaniards*, when they were in their ſleep.

When the *Spaniſh* governor heard this, he calls to *Will Atkins*: *How*, Seignior Atkins, ſays he, *will you murder us all? What do you ſay to that?* That hardened villain was ſo far from denying it, that he ſaid it was true, and G---d d-----mn him they would do it ſtill before they had done with them. Well, but Seig-

nior *Atkins*, ſaid the *Spaniard*, What have we done to you, that you will kill us? and what would you get by killing us? And what muſt we do to prevent your killing us? Muſt we kill you, or will you kill us? Why will you put us to the neceſſity of this Seignior *Atkins?* ſays the *Spaniard* very calmly and ſmiling.

Seignior *Atkins* was in ſuch a rage at the *Spaniard's* making a jeſt of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the *Spaniard* in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brain'd carriage obliged them to conſider ſeriouſly what was to be done. The two *Engliſhmen* and the *Spaniard*, who ſaved the poor ſavage, were of the opinion, That they ſhould hang one of the three for an example to the reſt; and that particularly it ſhould be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet: and indeed there was ſome reaſon to believe he had done it, for the poor ſavage was in ſuch a miſerable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor *Spaniard* ſtill ſaid, No, it was an an *Engliſhman* that had ſaved all their lives, and he would never conſent to put an *Engliſhman* to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, *he ſaid*, if he had been killed himſelf by an *Engliſhman*, and had time left to ſpeak, it ſhould be, that they ſhould pardon him.

This was poſitively inſiſted on by the governor *Spaniard*, and there was no gainſaying it; and, as merciful councils are moſt apt to prevail, where they are ſo earneſtly preſs'd, ſo they all came into it; but then

it was to be conſider'd, what ſhould be done to keep them from the miſchief they deſign'd; for all agreed, governor and all, That means were to be uſed for preſerving the ſociety from danger: After a long debate it was agreed, *Firſt*, That they ſhould be diſarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or ſhot, or ſword, or weapon, and ſhould be turned out of the ſociety, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themſelves; but that none of the reſt, either *Spaniards* or *Engliſh*, ſhould converſe with them, ſpeak with them, or have any thing to do with them; that they ſhould be forbid to come within a certain diſtance of the place where the reſt dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any diſorder, ſo as to ſpoil, burn, kill, or deſtroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the ſociety, that they ſhould die without mercy, and they ſhould ſhoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, muſing upon the ſentence, conſidered a little upon it; and, turning to the two *Engliſhmen*, ſaid, Hold; you muſt reflect, that it will be long ere they can raiſe corn or cattle of their own, and they muſt not ſtarve; we muſt therefore allow them proviſions. So he cauſed to be added, That they ſhould have a proportion of corn given them to laſt them eight months, and for ſeed to ſow, by which time they might be ſuppoſed to raiſe ſome of their own; that they ſhould have ſix milch-goats, four he-goats, and ſix kids given them, as well for their preſent ſubſiſtence, as for a ſtore; and that they ſhould have tools given them for their work in the fields; ſuch as ſix hatchets, an ax, a ſaw, and the

like: But they ſhould have none of theſe tools or proviſions, unleſs they would ſwear ſolemnly, That they would not hurt or injure any of the *Spaniards* with them, or of their fellow *Engliſhmen*.

Thus they diſmiſſed them the ſociety, and turned them out to ſhift for themſelves. They went away ſullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away, or to ſtay; but, as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and chuſe a place where they ſhould ſettle themſelves, to plant, and live by themſelves; and ſome proviſions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for ſome victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitch'd their tents, and mark'd themſelves out an habitation or plantation; it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remoteſt part of the iſland, N. E. much about the place where I providentially landed in my firſt voyage, when I was driven out to ſea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my fooliſh attempt to ſurround the iſland.

Here they built themſelves two handſome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my firſt habitation, being cloſe under the ſide of an hill, having ſome trees growing already to the three ſides of it; ſo that by planting others, it would be eaſily cover'd from the ſight, unleſs narrowly ſearched for; they deſired ſome dry goatſkins for beds and covering, which were given them; and, upon their giving their words, that they would not diſturb the reſt, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could ſpare; ſome peaſe, barley, and rice

for ſowing, and in a word, any thing that they wanted, but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this ſeparate condition about ſix months, and had gotten in their firſt harveſt, though the quantity was but ſmall, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards and pots, and ſuch things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy ſeaſon came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of ſpoiling: And this humbled them much; ſo that they came and begged the *Spaniards* to help them, which they very readily did: and in four days work'd a great hole in the ſide of the hill for them, big enough to ſecure their corn and other things from the rain: but it was but a poor place at beſt, compared to mine, and eſpecially as mine was then, for the *Spaniards* had greatly enlarged it, and made ſeveral new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this ſeparation, a new frolic took theſe rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought miſchief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony; The three new aſſociates began, it ſeems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumſtances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent, from whence the ſavages came, and would try if they could not ſeize upon ſome priſoners among the natives there, and bring them

home, ſo as to make them do the laborious part of their work for them.

The project was not ſo prepoſterous, if they had gone no farther; but they did nothing, and propoſed nothing, but had either miſchief in the deſign, or miſchief in the event: And, if I may give my opinion, they ſeemed to be under a blaſt from heaven; for if we will not allow a viſible curſe to purſue viſible crimes, how ſhall we reconcile the events of things with divine juſtice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crimes of mutiny and piracy, that had brought them to the ſtate they were in; and, as they ſhewed not the leaſt remorſe for the crime, but added new villanies to it, ſuch as particularly, that piece of monſtrous cruelty of wounding a poor ſlave, becauſe he did not, or perhaps could not underſtand to do what he was directed; and to wound him in ſuch a manner, as no queſtion made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no ſurgeon or medicine could be had for his cure, and, what was ſtill worſe, the murderous intent, or, to do juſtice to the crime, the intentional murder, for ſuch to be ſure it was, as was afterwards the formed deſign they all laid to murder the *Spaniards* in cold blood, and in their ſleep.

But I leave obſerving, and return to the ſtory: The three fellows came down to the *Spaniards* one morning, and, in very humble terms, deſired to be admitted to ſpeak to them: The *Spaniards* very readily heard what they had to ſay, which was this: That they were tired of living in the manner they did: That they were not handy enough to make the neceſſaries they wanted; and that having no help, they found they

ſhould be ſtarved: But if the *Spaniards* would give them leave to take one of the canoes they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main, and ſeek their fortune, and ſo deliver them from the trouble of ſupplying them with any other proviſions.

The *Spaniards* were glad enough to be rid of them, but yet very honeſtly repreſented to them the certain deſtruction they were running into; told them they had ſuffered ſuch hardſhips upon that very ſpot, that they could, without any ſpirit of prophecy, tell them, that they would be ſtarved or murdered, and bade them conſider of it.

The men replied audaciouſly, they ſhould be ſtarv'd if they ſtay'd here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be ſtarved abroad, and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in ſhort, inſiſted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The *Spaniards* told them, with great kindneſs, That if they were reſolved to go, they ſhould not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themſelves; and that though they could ill ſpare their fire-arms, having not enough for themſelves, yet they would let them have two muſquets, a piſtol, and a cutlace, and each man a hatchet, which they thought was ſufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer, and having baked them bread enough to ſerve them a month, and given them as much goat's fleſh as they could eat while

it was ſweet, and a great baſket full of dry'd grapes, a pot full of freſh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly ſet out in a canoe for a voyage over the ſea, where it was at leaſt 40 miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried 15 or 20 men, and therefore was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough: They had made a maſt of a long pole, and a ſail of four large goatſkins dry'd, which they had ſewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough: The *Spaniards* called after them *Bon veajo*, and no man ever thought of ſeeing them any more.

The *Spaniards* would often ſay to one another, and the two honeſt *Engliſhmen* who remain'd behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived, now thoſe three turbulent fellows were gone: As for their ever coming again, that was the remoteſt thing from their thoughts that could be imagined, when behold, after 22 days abſence, one of the *Engliſhmen*, being abroad upon his planting, ſees three ſtrange men coming towards him at a diſtance, two of them with guns upon their ſhoulders.

Away runs the *Engliſhman*, as if he was bewitched, and came frighted and amazed to the governor *Spaniard*, and tells him they were all undone, for there were ſtrangers landed upon the iſland, he could not tell who. The *Spaniard*, pauſing a while, ſays to him, *How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are ſavages to be ſure.* No, no, ſays the *Engliſhman*, they are men in cloaths with arms: *Nay then*, ſays the Spaniard, *why are you concerned? If they are not ſavages they muſt*

*be friends; for there is no Chriſtian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm.*

While they were debating thus, came the three *Engliſhmen*, and, ſtanding without the wood, which was new-planted, halloo'd to them; they preſently knew their voices, and ſo all the wonder of that kind ceaſed. But now the admiration was turned upon another queſtion, *viz.* What could be the matter, and what made them come back again.

It was not long before they brought the men in, and inquired where they had been, and what they had been doing? They gave them a full account of their voyage in few words, *viz.* That they reached the land in two days, or ſomething leſs; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durſt not go on ſhore, but ſailed on to the northward 6 or 7 hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they ſaw from our iſland was not the main, but an iſland; that entering that opening of the ſea, they ſaw another iſland on the right hand north, and ſeveral more weſt; and, being reſolved to land ſomewhere, they put over to one of the iſlands which lay weſt, and went boldly on ſhore; that they found the people were courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them ſeveral roots, and ſome dry'd fiſh, and appeared very ſociable; and the women, as well as the men were very forward to ſupply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by ſigns, *what nations were this*

*way, and that way*; and were told of ſeveral fierce and terrible people, that liv'd almoſt every *way*; who, as they made known by ſigns to them, uſed to eat men; but as for themſelves, they ſaid that they never eat men or women, except only ſuch as they took in the wars; and then they own'd, that they made a great feaſt, and eat their priſoners.

The *Engliſhmen* inquir'd, when they had a feaſt of that kind; and they told them, two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their king had 200 priſoners now, which he had taken in his war; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feaſt. The *Engliſhmen* ſeem'd mighty deſirous to ſee thoſe priſoners; but the others, miſtaking them, thought they were deſirous to have ſome of them, to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the ſetting of the ſun, and then to the riſing; which was to ſignify, that the next morning, at ſun-riſing, they would bring ſome for them; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women, and eleven men; and gave them to the *Engliſhmen*, to carry with them on their voyage, juſt as we would bring ſo many cows and oxen down to a ſea-port town, to victual a ſhip.

As brutiſh and barbarous as theſe fellows were at home, their ſtomachs turn'd at this ſight, and they did not know what to do; to refuſe the priſoners, would have been the higheſt affront to the ſavage gentry that offer'd them; and what to do with them they knew not; however, upon ſome debate, they reſolv'd to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the ſavages

that brought them, one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and ſix or ſeven of their bullets, which, though they did not underſtand, they ſeem'd extremely pleaſed with: and then, tying the poor creatures hands behind them, they (the people) dragg'd the priſoners into the boat for our men.

The *Engliſhmen* were obliged to come away as ſoon as they had them, or elſe they that gave them this noble preſent, would certainly have expected that they ſhould have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps, have invited the donors to dinner.

But, having taken their leave with all the reſpect and thanks that could well paſs between people, where on either ſide, they underſtood not one word they could ſay, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the firſt iſland, where, when they arrived, they ſet eight of their priſoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occaſion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have ſome communication with their priſoners, but it was impoſſible to make them underſtand any thing; nothing they could ſay to them, or give to them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them: they firſt of all unbound them, but the poor creatures ſcream'd at that, eſpecially the women, as if they had juſt felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpoſe to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the ſame thing; then they concluded, it was for fear they ſhould ſink in fleſh, and ſo not be fat enough to kill; if they

look'd at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded, it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill first; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the *Spaniard* ask'd them, where their new family was? And, being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come to beg some victuals for them; they (the *Spaniards*) and the other two *Englishmen*, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place, and see them, and did so, and *Friday*'s father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound; for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat, and make their escape; there, I say, they sat, all of them stark-naked: first, there were three men, lusty comely fellows, well shap'd, strait and fair limbs, about 30 to 35 years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from 30 to 40, two more not above 24 or 25, and the fifth, a tall comely maiden, about 16 or 17: the women were well-favour'd agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for handsome women, even in *London* itself, having very pleasant agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be cloath'd, and dressed as they call'd it, tho' that

dreſs was very indifferent, it muſt be confeſs'd; of which hereafter.

The ſight, you may be ſure, was ſomething uncouth to our *Spaniards*, who were (to give them a juſt character) men of the beſt behaviour, of the moſt calm, ſedate tempers, and perfect good-humour that ever I met with; and in particular, of the moſt modeſty, as will preſently appear: I ſay, the ſight was very uncouth, to ſee two naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and in the moſt miſerable circumſtances that human nature could be ſuppoſed to be, *viz.* to be expecting every moment to be dragg'd out, and have their brains knock'd out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is kill'd for a dainty.

The firſt thing they did was to cauſe the old *Indian*, *Friday*'s father, to go in, and ſee firſt if he knew any of them; and then, if he underſtood any of their ſpeech: as ſoon as the old man came in, he looked ſeriouſly at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them underſtand a word he ſaid, or a ſign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to anſwer the end, which was to ſatisfy them, that the men into whoſe hands they were fallen were chriſtians; that they abhorr'd eating of men or women, and that they might be ſure they would not be killed: as ſoon as they were aſſured of this, they diſcovered ſuch a joy, and by ſuch aukward and ſeveral ways, as is hard to deſcribe; for it ſeems they were of ſeveral nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in the next place, to aſk them if they were willing to be ſervants, and to work for the men who had brought

them away, to ſave their lives? At which they all fell a dancing; and preſently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their ſhoulders, to intimate, that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found, that the having women among them would preſently be attended with ſome inconveniency, and might occaſion ſome ſtrife, and perhaps blood, aſked the three men, what they intended to do with theſe women, and how they intended to uſe them, whether as ſervants, or as women? One of the *Engliſhmen* anſwered very boldly and readily, that they would uſe them as both. To which the governor ſaid, I am not going to reſtrain you from it; you are your own maſters as to that: but this I think is but juſt, for avoiding diſorders and quarrels among you, and I deſire it of you for that reaſon only, *viz.* That you will all engage, that if any of you take any of theſe women, as a woman, or wife, he ſhall take but one; and that, having taken one, none elſe ſhould touch her; for tho' we cannot marry any of you, yet it is but reaſonable, that while you ſtay here, the woman any of you takes, ſhould be maintain'd by the man that takes her, and ſhould be his wife; I mean, *ſays he*, while he continues here; and that none elſe ſhould have any thing to do with her. All this appear'd ſo juſt, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the *Engliſhmen* aſk'd the *Spaniards*, if they deſign'd to take any of them? But every one anſwered, no: ſome of them ſaid, they had wives in *Spain*, and the others did not like women that were not chriſtians; and altogether declared, that they would not

touch one of them; which was an inſtance of ſuch virtue, as I have not met with in all my travels: on the other hand, to be ſhort, the five *Engliſhmen* took them every one a wife; that is to ſay, a temporary wife; and ſo they ſet up a new form of living; for the *Spaniards*, and *Friday's* father, liv'd in my old habitation, which they had enlarg'd exceedingly within; the three ſervants, which they had taken in the late battle of the ſavages, lived with them; and theſe carried on the main part of the colony, ſupplying all the reſt with food, and aſſiſting them in any thing as they could, or as they found neceſſity required.

But the wonder of this ſtory was, how five ſuch refractory ill-match'd fellows ſhould agree about theſe women, and that two of them ſhould not pitch upon the ſame woman, eſpecially ſeeing two or three of them were, without compariſon more agreeable than the others: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themſelves; for they ſet the five women by themſelves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who ſhould chuſe firſt.

He that drew to chuſe firſt, went away by himſelf to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he choſe; and it was worth obſerving, that he that choſe firſt, took her that was reckoned the homelieſt, and the oldeſt of the five, which made mirth enough among the reſt; and even the *Spaniards* laugh'd at it: but the fellow conſidered better than any of them, that it was application and buſineſs that they were to expect aſſiſtance in, as much as any thing elſe; and ſhe proved the beſt wife in the parcel.

When the poor women ſaw themſelves ſet in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition return'd upon them again, and they firmly believed, that they were now going to be devoured: accordingly, when the *Engliſh* ſailor came in, and fetched out one of them, the reſt ſet up a moſt lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with ſuch agonies, and ſuch affection, as would have grieved the hardeſt heart in the world; nor was it poſſible for the *Engliſhmen* to ſatisfy them, that they were not to be immediately murder'd, till they fetched the old man, *Friday*'s father, who inſtantly let them know that the five men, who had fetched them out one by one, had choſen them for their wives.

When they had done this, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the *Spaniards* came and helped them; and, in a few hours, they had built them every on a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for thoſe they had already were crouded with their tools, houſhold-ſtuff and proviſions: the three wicked ones had pitched fartheſt off, and the two honeſt ones nearer, but both on the north-ſhore of the iſland, ſo that they continued ſeparate as before: and thus my iſland was peopled in three places, and, as I might ſay, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here 'tis very well worth obſerving, that as it often happens in the world (what the wiſe ends of God's providences are in ſuch a diſpoſition of things, I cannot ſay) the two honeſt fellows had the two worſt wives; and the three reprobates, that were ſcarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither ſeemed

born to do themſelves good, or any one elſe, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two firſt were ill wives as to their temper or humour; for all the five were moſt willing, quiet, paſſive, and ſubjected creatures, rather like ſlaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or induſtrious; or alike cleanly and neat.

Another obſervation I muſt make to the honour of a diligent application on the one hand, and to the diſgrace of a ſlothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and view'd the ſeveral improvements, planting, and management of the ſeveral little colonies; the two men had ſo far outgone the three, that there was no compariſon: they had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reaſon was, becauſe, according to my rule, nature dictated, that it was to no purpoſe to ſow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed every thing elſe, was eaſy to be ſeen at firſt view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place, nothing was to be ſeen but a wood; and though they had their plantation twice demoliſhed, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy; as ſhall be ſhewn in its place; yet they had reſtored all again, and every thing was flouriſhing and thriving about them; they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themſelves never ſeen any thing of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had alſo found themſelves a

retreat in the thickeſt part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with inceſſant labour of their hands, and where, when the miſchief which followed happened, they ſecured their wives and children, ſo as they could never be found; they having, by ſticking innumerable ſtakes and poles of the wood, which, as I ſaid, grew ſo eaſily, made a grove impaſſable, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outſide part; and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I juſtly call them, tho' they were much civiliz'd by their new ſettlement, compared to what they were before, and were not ſo quarrelſome, having not the ſame opportunity; yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleneſs: it is true, they planted corn, and made fences; but *Solomon*'s words were never better verified than in them: *I went by the vineyard of the ſlothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns*; for when the *Spaniards* came to view their crop, they could not ſee it in ſome places for weeds; the hedge had ſeveral gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in, and eaten up the corn; perhaps, here-and-there a dead buſh was cramed in, to ſtop them out for the preſent, but it was only ſhutting the ſtable-door after the ſteed was ſtolen: whereas when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of induſtry and ſucceſs upon all they did; there was not a weed to be ſeen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges: and they, on the other hand, verified *Solomon*'s words in another place: *That the diligent hand makes rich.* For every thing grew and thriv'd

and they had plenty within and without: they had more tame cattle than the other, more utenſils and neceſſaries within doors, and yet more pleaſure and diverſion too.

It is ture, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and, having learned the *Engliſh* ways of dreſſing and cooking from one of the other *Engliſhmen*, who, as I ſaid, was a cook's mate on board the ſhip, they dreſſed their husband's victuals, very nicely and well; whereas the other could not be brought to underſtand it; but then the husband, who, as I ſaid, had been cook's mate, did it himſelf; but, as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles eggs, and caught fiſh and birds; In a word, any thing but labour; and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the ſlothful lived hard and beggarly; and ſo I believe, generally ſpeaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a ſcene, different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; and the original of the ſtory was this.

Early one morning there came on ſhore five or ſix *Canoes* of *Indians*, or ſavages, call them which you pleaſe; and there is no room to doubt, that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their ſlaves: But that part was now ſo familiar to the *Spaniards* and to our men too, that they did not concern themſelves about it, as I did; but, having been made ſenſible by their experiences, that their only buſineſs was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not ſeen by any of the ſavages, they would go off again quietly, when their bu-

ſineſs was done, having as yet not the leaſt notion of there being any inhabitants in the iſland; I ſay, having been made ſenſible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to ſhew themſelves; only placing a ſcout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went off to ſea again.

This was without doubt very right; but a diſaſter ſpoiled all theſe meaſures, and made it known among the ſavages, that there were inhabitants there; which was, in the end, the deſolation of almoſt the whole colony: After the *Canoes* with the ſavages were gone off, the *Spaniards* peeped abroad again, and ſome of them had the curioſity to go to the place where they had been, to ſee what they had been doing: Here, to their great ſurpriſe, they found three ſavages left behind, and lying faſt aſleep upon the ground; it was ſuppoſed, they had either been ſo gorged with their inhuman feaſt, that, like beaſts, they were aſleep, and would not ſtir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The *Spaniards* were greatly ſurpriſed at this ſight, and perfectly at a loſs what to do: The *Spaniard* governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was aſked; but he profeſſed he knew not what to do; as for ſlaves they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that: The *Spaniard* governor told me they could not think of ſhedding innocent blood; for, as to them, the poor creatures had done no wrong, invaded none of their

property; and they thought they had no juſt quarrel againſt them, to take away their lives.

And here I muſt, in juſtice to theſe *Spaniards*, obſerve, that let all the accounts of *Spaniſh* cruelty in *Mexico* and *Peru* be what they will, I never met with ſeventeen men, of any nation whatſoever, in any foreign country, who were ſo univerſally modeſt, temperate, virtuous, ſo very good-humoured, and ſo courteous, as theſe *Spaniards*; and, as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous paſſions, and yet all of them men of great courage and ſpirit.

Their temper and calmneſs had appeared, in their bearing the unſufferable uſage of the three *Engliſhmen*; and their juſtice and humanity appeared now in the caſe of the ſavages, as above: After ſome conſultation, they reſolved upon this, that they ſhould lie ſtill a while longer, till, if poſſible, theſe three men might be gone; but then the governor *Spaniard* recollected, that the three ſavages had no boat; and that, if they were left to rove about the iſland, they would certainly diſcover, that there were inhabitants in it; and ſo they ſhould be undone that way.

Upon this, they went back again, and there lay the fellows faſt aſleep ſtill: So they reſolved to awaken them, and take them priſoners, and they did ſo; the poor fellows were ſtrangely frighted when they were ſeized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they ſhould be murdered and eaten; for it ſeems, thoſe people think all the world do as they do, eating men's fleſh; but they were ſoon made eaſy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy to them, that they did not carry them home to their caſtle; I mean, to my palace under the hill; but they carried them firſt to the bower, where was the chief of their country-work; ſuch as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, *&c.* and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two *Engliſhmen.*

Here they were ſet to work, tho' it was not much they had for them to do: And, whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themſelves, I know not, but one of them ran away; and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reaſon to believe he got home again ſoon after, in ſome other boats or *Canoes* of ſavages, who came on ſhore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as uſual, went off again in two days time: This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cauſe indeed, that if this fellow got ſafe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the iſland, as alſo how weak and few they were; for this ſavage, as I obſerved before, had never been told, as it was very happy he had not, how many they were, or where they lived; nor had he ever ſeen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much leſs had they ſhewn him any other of their retired places, ſuch as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat, which the two *Engliſhmen* had made, *and the like.*

The firſt teſtimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them, was, that about two months

after this, ſix *Canoes* of ſavages, with about ſeven or eight, or ten men in a *Canoe*, came rowing along the north-ſide of the iſland, where they never uſed to come before, and landed about an hour after ſun-riſe, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two *Engliſhmen*, where this eſcaped man had been kept: As the *Spaniard* governor ſaid, had they been all there, the damage would not have been ſo much, for not a man of them would have eſcaped: But the caſe differed now very much; for two men to fifty were too much odds: The two men had the happineſs to diſcover them about a league off, ſo that it was above an hour before they landed; and, as they landed about a mile from their huts, it was ſome time before they could come at them. Now having great reaſon to believe that they were betrayed, the firſt thing they did, was, to bind the ſlaves which were left, and cauſe two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, who, it ſeems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods, which I have ſpoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, ſeeing the ſavages were all come on ſhore, and that they bent their courſe directly that way, they opened their fences, where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to ſtraggle into the wood, whither they pleaſed, that the ſavages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for

that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went, directly to the place.

When the two poor frighted men had ſecured their wives and goods, they ſent the other ſlave they had of the three, who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the *Spaniards* with all ſpeed, to give them the alarm, and deſire ſpeedy help; and in the mean time they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood, where their wives were ſent, keeping at diſtance; yet ſo that they might ſee, if poſſible, which way the ſavages took.

They had not gone far, but that, from a riſing ground, they could ſee the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could ſee all their huts and houſhold-ſtuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification: for they had a very great loſs, and to them irretrievable, at leaſt for ſome time. They kept their ſtation for a while, till they found the ſavages, like wild beaſts, ſpread themſelves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place, they could think of, in ſearch for prey; and, in particular, for the people, of whom it now plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two *Engliſhmen* ſeeing this, thinking themſelves not ſecure where they ſtood, becauſe, as it was likely ſome of the wild people might come that way, ſo they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they ſtrolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree ſtood, which was hollow, and vaſtly large; and in this tree they both took their ſtanding, reſolved to ſee there what might offer.

They had not ſtood there long, but two of the ſavages appeared running directly that way; as if they had already notice where they ſtood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way further, they eſpied three more coming after them, and five more behind them, all coming the ſame way; beſides which, they ſaw ſeven or eight more at a diſtance, running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like ſportſmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they ſhould ſtand, and keep their poſture, or fly; But after a very ſhort debate with themſelves, they conſidered, that if the ſavages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreats in the wood, and then all would be loſt: ſo they reſolved to ſtand them there; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themſelves, *fire excepted*, as long as their ammunition laſted, tho' all the ſavages that were landed, which were near fifty, were to attack them.

Having reſolved upon this, they next conſidered whether they ſhould fire at the firſt two, or wait for the three, and ſo take the middle party; by which the two and the five that followed would be ſeparated; at length they reſolved to let the two firſt paſs by, unleſs they ſhould 'ſpy them in the tree, and come to at-

tack them. The two firſt ſavages alſo confirmed them in this reſolution, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the *Engliſhmen* were there.

Seeing them come ſo ſtrait towards them, they reſolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they reſolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the firſt ſhot might hit them all three; to which purpoſe, the man who was to fire, put three or four bullets into the piece; and, having a fair loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a ſure aim, without being ſeen, waiting till they were about thirty yards off the tree, ſo that he could not miſs.

While they were thus waiting, and the ſavages came on, they plainly ſaw, that one of the three was the run-away ſavage that had eſcaped from them, and they both knew him diſtinctly, and reſolved, that, if poſſible, he ſhould not eſcape tho' they ſhould both fire; ſo the other ſtood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the firſt ſhot, he ſhould be ſure to have a ſecond.

But the firſt was too good a markſman to miſs his aim; for, as the ſavages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, in a word, he fired, and hit two of them directly: The foremoſt was killed outright, being ſhot in the head; the ſecond, which was the run-away *Indian*, was ſhot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little ſcratch in the ſhoulder, perhaps, by the ſame ball that went through the body of the ſecond; and, being dreadfully frighted, though not much hurt, ſat down

upon the ground, ſcreaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noiſe, than ſenſible of their danger, ſtood ſtill at firſt; for the woods made the ſound a thouſand times bigger than it really was; the echoes rattling from one ſide to another, and the fowls riſing from all parts, ſcreaming and making, every ſort, a ſeveral kind of noiſe, according to their kind, juſt as it was when I fired the firſt gun that, perhaps, was ever ſhot off in that place, ſince it was an iſland.

However, all being ſilent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to that place where their companions lay, in a condition miſerable enough: And here the poor ignorant creatures, not ſenſible that they were within reach of the ſame miſchief, ſtood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be ſuppoſed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, 'tis very rational to believe, told them that a flaſh of fire firſt, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed thoſe two, and wounded him: This, I ſay, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they ſaw no man near them, ſo they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or ſo much as heard of a gun; neither knew they any thing of killing or wounding at a diſtance with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reaſonably believe, that they would not have ſtood ſo unconcerned, in viewing the fate of their fellows, without ſome apprehenſion of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confeſſed to me, it

grieved them to be obliged to kill ſo many poor creatures, who at the ſame time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the firſt having loaded his piece again, reſolved to let fly both together among them; and, ſingling out, by agreement, which to aim at, they ſhot together, and killed or very much wounded four of them; the fifth, frighted even to death, though not hurt, fell with the reſt; ſo that our men, ſeeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all,

The belief that the ſavages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong ſtep; and they were under ſome ſurpriſe, when they came to the place, and found no leſs than four of the men alive, and of them, two very little hurt, and one not at all: This obliged them to fall upon them with the ſtocks of their muſquets; and firſt they made ſure of the run-away ſavage, that had been the cauſe of all the miſchief; and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moan to them by geſtures and ſigns, for his life, but could not ſay one word to them that they could underſtand.

However, they ſigned to him to ſit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the *Engliſhmen*, with a piece of rope twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his feet faſt together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him; and, with what ſpeed they could made after the other two which were

gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, ſhould find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left lay: They came once in ſight of the two men, but it was at a great diſtance; however, they had the ſatisfaction to ſee them croſs over a valley, towards the ſea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and, being ſatisfied with that, they went back to the tree, where they left their priſoner, who, as they ſuppoſed, was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay juſt at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what courſe to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what number; ſo they reſolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to ſee if all was well there, and to make them eaſy, who were in fright enough to be ſure; for though the ſavages were their own country-folk, yet they were moſt terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more, for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came thither, they found the ſavages had been in the wood, and very near the place, but had not found it; for indeed, it was inacceſſible, by the trees ſtanding ſo thick, as before, unleſs the perſons ſeeking it had been directed by thoſe that knew it, which theſe were not; they found, therefore, every thing very ſafe, only the women in a terrible fright: While they were here, they had the comfort of ſeven of the *Spaniards* coming to their aſſiſtance; the other ten, with their ſervants, and old *Friday*, I mean

*Friday*'s father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in caſe the ſavages ſhould have roved over to that ſide of the country; but they did not ſpread ſo far: With the ſeven *Spaniards* came one of the ſavages, who, as I ſaid, were their priſoner formerly, and with them alſo came the ſavage, whom the *Engliſhmen* had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it ſeems they came that way, ſaw the ſlaughter of the ſeven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them; where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had done the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The priſoners began now to be a burden to them; and they were ſo afraid of their eſcaping, that they thought they were under an abſolute neceſſity to kill them for their own preſervation: However the *Spaniard* governor would not conſent to it; but ordered, that they ſhould be ſent out of the way, to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there with two *Spaniards* to guard them, and give them food: Which was done, and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the *Spaniards* came, the two *Engliſhmen* were ſo encouraged, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves to ſtay any longer there; but taking five of the *Spaniards*, and themſelves, with four muſquets and a piſtol among them, and two ſtout quarter-ſtaves, away they went in queſt of the ſavages: And firſt, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was eaſy to ſee, that ſome more of the ſavages had been there; for they attempted to carry their dead

men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over: From thence they advanced to the firſt riſing ground, where they had ſtood, and ſeen their camp deſtroyed, and where they had the mortification ſtill to ſee ſome of the ſmoke; but neither could they hear or ſee any of the ſavages: Then they reſolved, though with all poſſible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation: But a little before they came thither, coming in ſight of the ſea-ſhore, they ſaw plainly the ſavages all embarking again in their *Canoes*, in order to be gone.

They ſeemed ſorry at firſt, that there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow: But upon the whole, were very well ſatisfied to be rid of them.

The poor *Engliſhmen*, being now twice ruined, and all their implements deſtroyed, the reſt all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to aſſiſt them with needful ſupplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the leaſt inclination to do any good, yet, as ſoon as they heard of it (for they, living remote eaſtward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over) came and offered their help and aſſiſtance, and did very friendly work for ſeveral days, to reſtore their habitations, and make neceſſaries for them; and thus in a little time, they were ſet upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther ſatisfaction of ſeeing three of the ſavages *Canoes* come driving on ſhore, and, at ſome diſtance from them, with two drowned men; by which they had reaſon to believe, that they had met with a ſtorm at ſea, and had

overſet ſome of them; for it had blown very hard the night after they went off.

However, as ſome might miſcarry, ſo on the other hand, enough of them eſcaped to inform the reſt, as well of what they had done, as of what happened to them; and to whet them on to another enterpriſe of the ſame nature, which they, it ſeems, reſolved to attempt, with ſufficient force to carry all before them; for, except what the firſt man had told them of inhabitants, they could ſay little to it of their own knowledge; for they never ſaw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witneſs to confirm it to them.

It was five or ſix months after this, before they heard any more of the ſavages, in which time our men were in hopes they had not forgot their former bad luck, or had given over the hopes of better; when, on a ſudden, they were invaded with a moſt formidable fleet, of no leſs than twenty-eight *Canoes* full of ſavages armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden ſwords, and ſuch like engines of war; and they brought ſuch numbers with them, that, in ſhort, in put all our people into the utmoſt conſternation.

As they came on ſhore in the evening, and at the eaſtermoſt-ſide of the iſland, our men had that night to conſult and conſider what to do; and, in the firſt place, knowing that their being entirely concealed, was their only ſafety before, and would much more be ſo now, while the number of their enemies was ſo great, they therefore reſolved, firſt of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two *Engliſh*-

*men*, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they ſuppoſed the ſavages would go directly thither, as ſoon as it was day, to play the old game over again, tho' they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the *Spaniards*; and, in ſhort, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as poſſible; and the next morning early they poſted themſelves with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they gueſſed, ſo it happened; theſe new invaders, leaving their *Canoes* at the eaſt-end of the iſland, came ranging along the ſhore directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but ſmall indeed; but, that which was worſe, they had not arms for all their number neither: The whole account, it ſeems, ſtood thus: Firſt, as to men:

17 *Spaniards.*
5 *Engliſhmen.*
1 Old *Friday*, or *Friday*'s father.
3 ſlaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 Other ſlaves, who lived with the *Spaniards.*

29

To arm theſe they had

11 Muſquets.
5 Piſtols.
3 Fowling-pieces.
5 Muſquets, or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous ſeamen whom I reduced.
2 Swords.
3 Old halberts.

29

To their ſlaves they did not give either muſquet or fuſil, but they had every one an halbert, or a long ſtaff, like a quarter-ſtaff, with a great ſpike of iron faſtened into each end of it, and by his ſide a hatchet; alſo every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon, but they would come into the fight; and they had bows and arrows, which the *Spaniards* had taken from the ſavages, when the firſt action happened, which I have ſpoken of, where the *Indians* fought with one another, and the women had hatchets too.

The *Spaniard* governor, whom I have deſcribed ſo often, commanded the whole; and *William Atkins*, who, tho' a dreadful fellow for wickedneſs, was a moſt daring bold fellow, commanded under him. The ſavages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worſt of their fate had no advantage in their ſituation; only that *Will Atkins*, who now proved a moſt uſeful fellow, with ſix men, was planted juſt be-

hind a ſmall thicket of buſhes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the firſt of them paſs by and then fire into the middle of them; and, as ſoon as he had fired, to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and ſo come in behind the *Spaniards* where they ſtood, having a thicket of trees all before them.

When the ſavages came on, they ran ſtraggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order; and *Will Atkins* let about fifty of them paſs by him; then, ſeeing the reſt come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muſquets with ſix or ſeven bullets apiece, about as big as large piſtol-bullets How many they killed or wounded, they knew not; but the conſternation and ſurpriſe was inexpreſſible among the ſavages, who were frighted to the laſt degree, to hear ſuch a dreadful noiſe, and ſee their men killed, and others hurt, but ſee nobody that did it; when, in the middle of their fright, *William Atkins*, and his other three, let fly again among the thickeſt of them; and in leſs than a minute, the firſt three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had *William Atkins* and his men retir'd immediately, as ſoon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do; or had the reſt of the body been at hand, to have pour'd in their ſhot continually, the ſavages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, *viz. That they were killed by the Gods with thunder and lightning*, and could ſee nobody that hurt them; but *William Atkins*, ſtaying to load again, diſcovered the cheat: ſome of the ſavages, who were at a diſtance, ſpying them, came upon

them behind; and tho' *Atkins* and his men fired at them alſo, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as faſt as they could, yet they wounded *Atkins* himſelf, and killed one of his fellow *Engliſhmen* with their arrows, as they did afterwards one *Spaniard*, and one of the *Indian* ſlaves who came with the women; this ſlave was a moſt gallant fellow, and fought moſt deſperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed ſtaves, and an hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, *Atkins* wounded and two other men killed, retreated to a riſing ground in the wood; and the *Spaniards*, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated alſo; for their number was ſo great, and they were ſo deſperate, that tho' above fifty of them were killed, and more than ſo many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearleſs of danger, and ſhot their arrows like a cloud; and it was obſerved, that their wounded men, who were not quite diſabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the *Spaniard* and the *Engliſhman*, that were killed, behind them; and the ſavages when they came up to them, kill'd them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs and heads, with their clubs, and wooden ſwords, like true ſavages: but, finding our men were gone, they did not ſeem to purſue them, but drew themſelves up in a kind of a ring, which is, it ſeems, their cuſtom; and ſhouted twice, in token of their victory: after which, they had the mortification to ſee

ſeveral of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loſs of blood.

The *Spaniard* governor having drawn his little body up together upon a riſing ground, *Atkins*, though he was wounded, would have had him march'd, and charge them again all together at once: but the *Spaniard* replied, ſeignior *Atkins*, you ſee how their wounded men fight; let them alone till morning; all theſe wounded men will be ſtiff and ſore with their wounds, and faint with the loſs of blood; and ſo we ſhall have the fewer to engage.

The advice was good; but *Will Atkins* replied merrily, that's true ſeignior, and ſo ſhall I too; and that's the reaſon I would go on, while I am warm. Well, ſeignior *Atkins*, ſays the *Spaniard*, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it beſt to ſtay till morning; ſo they waited.

But as it was a clear moon light night, and they found the ſavages in great diſorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noiſe among them where they lay, they afterwards reſolved to fall upon them in the night, eſpecially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were diſcover'd. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two *Engliſhmen*, in whoſe quarter it was that the fight began, led them round, between the woods and the ſeaſide, weſtward, and turning ſhort ſouth, they came ſo near where the thickeſt of them lay, that before they were ſeen or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them; in half a minute more eight others fired after them,

pouring in their ſmall ſhot in ſuch a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to ſee who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The *Spaniards* charg'd again with the utmoſt expedition, and then divided themſelves into 3 bodies, and reſov'd to fall in among them all together: they had in each body 8 perſons; that is to ſay 24, whereof were 22 men, and the 2 women, who, by the way, fought deſperately.

They divided the fire arms equally in each party, and ſo of the halberts and ſtaves. They would have had the women keep back; but they ſaid, they were reſolv'd to die with their husbands. Having thus form'd their little army, they march'd out from among the trees and came up to the teeth of the enemy, ſhouting and hallooing as loud as they could; the ſavages ſtood all together, but were in the utmoſt confuſion, hearing the noiſe of our men ſhouting from three quarters together; they would have fought if they had ſeen us; and, as ſoon as we came near enough to be ſeen, ſome arrows were ſhot, and poor old *Friday* was wounded, tho' not dangerouſly. But our men gave them no time; but, running up to them, fir'd among them three ways, and then fell in with the but-ends of their muſquets, their ſwords, arm'd ſtaves, and hatchets; and laid about them ſo well, that, in a word, they ſet up a diſmal ſcreaming and howling, flying to ſave their lives which way ſoever they could.

Our men were tir'd with the execution; and kill'd, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about a 180 of them; the reſt, being frighted out of their wits, ſcour'd

thro' the woods, and over the hills, with all the ſpeed and fear that nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourſelves much to purſue them, they got all together to the ſea-ſide, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their diſaſter was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible ſtorm of wind that evening from the ſea-ward; ſo that it was impoſſible for them to put off; nay, the ſtorm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were moſt of them driven by the ſurge of the ſea ſo high upon the ſhore, that it requir'd infinite toil to get them off; and ſome of them were even daſh'd to pieces againſt the beach, or againſt one another.

Our men, tho' glad of their victory, yet got little reſt that night; but having refreſh'd themſelves as well as they could, they reſolv'd to march to that part of the iſland where the ſavages were fled, and ſee what poſture they were in. This neceſſarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found ſeveral of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet paſt recovering life; a ſight diſagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, tho' oblig'd by the law of battle to deſtroy his enemy, takes no delight in his miſery.

However there was no need to give any order in this caſe: for their own ſavages, who were their ſervants, diſpatched thoſe poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miſerable remains of the ſavages army lay, where there appeared about 100 ſtill; their poſture was generally ſitting upon the ground, with their knees up

towards their mouth, and the head put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two muſquet-ſhot of them, the *Spaniard* governor order'd two muſquets to be fired without ball, to alarm them; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, *viz.* Whether they were ſtill in heart to fight, or were ſo heartily beaten, as to be diſpirited and diſcourag'd, and ſo he might manage accordingly.

This ſtratagem took; for, as ſoon as the ſavages heard the firſt gun, and ſaw the flaſh of the ſecond, they ſtarted up upon their feet in the greateſt conſternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced ſwiftly towards them, they all ran ſcreaming and yelling away with a kind of an howling noiſe, which our men did not underſtand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At firſt, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to ſea; but they did not then conſider, that this might probably have been the occaſion of their coming again in ſuch multitudes as not to be reſiſted; or, at leaſt, to come ſo many and ſo often, as would quite deſolate the iſland, and ſtarve them: *Will Atkins* therefore, who, notwithſtanding his wound, kept always with them, prov'd the beſt counſellor in this caſe: his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and ſo deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the iſland.

They conſulted long about this, and ſome were againſt it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there deſperate; and ſo they ſhould

have them to hunt like wild beaſts, be afraid to ſtir about their buſineſs, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats deſtroyed, and, in ſhort be reduc'd to a life of continual diſtreſs.

*Will Atkins* told them, they had better have to do with 100 men, than with 100 nations; that as they muſt deſtroy their boats, ſo they muſt deſtroy the men, or be all of them deſtroy'd themſelves. In a word, he ſhew'd them the neceſſity of it ſo plainly, that they all came into it; ſo they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting ſome dry wood together from a dead tree, they try'd to ſet ſome of them on fire; but they were ſo wet that they would ſcarce burn. However, the fire ſo burn'd the upper part, that it ſoon made them unfit for ſwimming in the ſea as boats. When the *Indians* ſaw what they were about, ſome of them came running out of the woods; and, coming as near as they could to our men, kneel'd down and cry'd *Oa, Oa, Waramokoa*, and ſome other words of their language, which none of the others underſtood any thing of; but as they made pitiful geſtures, and ſtrange noiſes, it was eaſy to underſtand, they begged to have their boats ſpared, and that they would be gone, and never come thither again.

But our men were now ſatisfied, that they had no way to preſerve themſelves, or to ſave their colony, but effectually to prevent any of theſe people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever ſo much as one of them got back into their country to tell the ſtory, the colony was undone: ſo that letting them know that they ſhould not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and deſtroyed them e-

very one, that the ſtorm had not deſtroyed before; at the ſight of which the ſavages raiſed a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the iſland like diſtracted men; ſo that, in a word, our men did not really know at firſt what do with them.

Nor did the *Spaniards*, with all their prudence, conſider that while they made thoſe people thus deſperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the ſame time upon their plantations; for tho' it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the *Indians* did not find their main retreat, I mean my old caſtle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley; yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot; tore up the vines and grapes, being juſt then almoſt ripe; and did our men an ineſtimable damage, tho', to themſelves, not one farthing's worth of ſervice.

Tho' our men were able to fight them upon all occaſions, yet they were in no condition to purſue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them ſingle, ſo our men durſt not go about ſingle, for fear of being ſurrounded with their numbers: the beſt was, they had no weapons; for tho' they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edg'd tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and diſtreſs they were reduc'd to was great, and indeed deplorable, but at the ſame time our men were alſo brought to very hard circumſtances by them; for tho' their retreats were preſerv'd, yet their

proviſion was deſtroyed, and their harveſt ſpoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themſelves, they knew not: the only refuge they had now, was the ſtock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and ſome little corn which grew there. The three *Engliſhmen*, *William Atkins*, and his comrades, were now reduc'd to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which ſtruck him on the ſide of his head, juſt under the temples, ſo that he never ſpoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the ſame barbarous fellow who cut the poor ſavage ſlave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murder'd the *Spaniards*.

I look'd upon their caſe to have been worſe at this time, than mine was at any time after I firſt diſcover'd the grains of barley and rice, and got into the method of planting and raiſing my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may ſay, an hundred wolves upon the iſland, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be very hardly come at themſelves.

The firſt thing they concluded, when they ſaw what their circumſtances were, was, that they would, if poſſible, drive them up to the farther part of the iſland, ſoutheaſt, that if any more ſavages came on ſhore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harraſs them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduc'd their number; and if they could at laſt tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they follow'd them, and ſo terrify'd

them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an *Indian*, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and ſo dreadfully frighted they were, that they kept out of ſight farther and farther, till at length our men following them, and every day almoſt killing and wounding ſome of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places ſo much, that it reduced them to the utmoſt miſery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely ſtarved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; eſpecially the *Spaniard* governor, who was the moſt gentleman-like, generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life: And he propoſed, if poſſible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to underſtand what they meant, ſo far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and ſee if they might be brought to ſome conditions, that might be depended upon to ſave their lives, and to do us no ſpoil.

It was ſome time before any of them could be taken; but, being weak and half-ſtarved, one of them was at laſt ſurpriſed, and made a priſoner; he was ſullen at firſt, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himſelf kindly uſed, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at laſt grew tractable, and came to himſelf.

They brought old *Friday* to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only ſave their lives, but would give them a part of the iſland to live in, pro-

vided they would give ſatisfaction, that they ſhould keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others; and that they ſhould have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and ſome bread given them for their preſent ſubſiſtence; and old *Friday* bade the fellow go and talk with the reſt of his countrymen, and ſee what they ſaid to it; aſſuring them, that if they did not agree immediately they ſhould all be deſtroyed.

The poor wretches thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-ſeven, cloſed with the propoſal at the firſt offer, and begged to have ſome food given them; upon which twelve *Spaniards*, and two *Engliſhmen*, well armed, and three *Indian* ſlaves, and old *Friday*, marched to the place where they were; the three *Indian* ſlaves carried them a large quantity of bread, and ſome rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the ſun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the ſide of an hill, where they ſat down, eat the proviſions very thankfully, and were the moſt faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and there they lived when I came to the iſland, and I went to ſee them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them; they wanted nothing but wives, and they ſoon would have been a nation: They were confined to a neck of land, ſurrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the ſea before them, on the ſouth-eaſt corner of the iſland: They had land enough, and it was very

good and fruitful; for they had a piece of land about a mile and half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden ſpades, ſuch as I made for myſelf; and gave among them 12 hatchets, and 3 or 4 knives; and there they lived the moſt ſubjected innocent creatures, that ever were heard of.

After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, with reſpect to the ſavages, till I came to re-viſit them, which was in about two years: Not but that now-and-then ſome *Canoes* of ſavages came on ſhore for their triumphal unnatural feaſts; but as they were of ſeveral nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of thoſe that came before, or the reaſon of it, they did not make any ſearch or inquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return, at leaſt, that was worth notice. The *Indians*, or ſavages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the *Indians* coming to them, becauſe they would not have their ſettlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, *viz.* that they taught the ſavages to make wicker-work, or baſkets; but they ſoon out-did their maſters; for they made abundance of moſt ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly, all ſorts of baſkets, ſieves, bird-cages, cupboards, *&c.* as alſo chairs to ſit on, ſtools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very

ingenious at ſuch work, when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to theſe people, becauſe we furniſhed them with knives, ſciſſars, ſpades, ſhovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of theſe tools they were ſo very handy, that they came, at laſt, to build up their huts, or houſes, very handſomely; raddling, or working it up like baſket-work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd; but was an exceeding good fence, as well againſt heat, as againſt all ſorts of vermin; and our men were ſo taken with it, that they got the wild ſavages to come and do the like for them; ſo that when I came to ſee the two *Engliſhmen*'s colonies, they looked, at a diſtance, as if they lived all like bees in an hive; and as for *Will Atkins*, who was now become a very induſtrious, neceſſary, and ſober fellow, he had made himſelf ſuch a tent of baſket-work, as I believe was never ſeen; it was 120 paces round on the outſide, as I meaſured by my ſteps; the walls were as cloſe-worked as a baſket, in pannels or ſquares, thirty-two in number, and very ſtrong, ſtanding about 7 feet high: In the middle was another not above 22 paces round, but built ſtronger, being eight-ſquare in its form, and in the 8 corners ſtood 8 very ſtrong poſts, round the top of which he laid ſtrong pieces, joined together with wooden pins, from which he raiſed a pyramid before the roof of 8 rafters, very handſome, I aſſure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron ſpikes, which he had made himſelf

too, out of the old iron that I had left there; and indeed, this fellow ſhewed abundance of ingenuity in ſeveral things which he had no knowledge of: he made himſelf a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himſelf charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but eſpecially hooks, ſtaples and ſpikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the houſe; after he had pitched the roof of his innermoſt tent, he worked it up between the rafters with baſket-work, ſo firm, and thatched that over again ſo ingeniouſly with rice-ſtraw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his houſe was as dry as if it had been tiled or ſlated. Indeed, he owned that the ſavages made the baſket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the 32 angles to the top poſts of the inner houſe, being about twenty feet diſtant; ſo that there was a ſpace like a walk, within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the ſame wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into ſix apartments, for that he had ſix rooms on a floor, and out of every one of theſe there was a door; firſt, into the entry or coming into the main tent, and another door into the ſpace or walk that was round it; ſo that this walk was alſo divided into ſix equal parts, which ſerved not only for a retreat, but to ſtore up any neceſſaries which the family had occaſion for. Theſe ſix ſpaces not taking up the whole circumference, what o-

ther apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: As ſoon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a ſhort paſſage ſtrait before you to the door of the inner houſe; but on either ſide was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, firſt, into a large room or ſtore-houſe, 20 feet wide, and about 30 feet long, and thro' that into another not quite ſo long: So that in the outer circle were ten handſome rooms, ſix of which were only to be come at thro' the apartments of the inner tent, and ſerved as cloſets or retired rooms to the reſpective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouſes or barns, or what you pleaſe to call them, which went in thro' one another, two on either hand of the paſſage, that led thro' the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of baſket-work, I believe, was never ſeen in the world; nor an houſe or tent, ſo neatly contrived, much leſs, ſo built: In this great bee-hive lived the three families, that is to ſay, *Will Atkins*, and his companion; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children; for ſhe was, it ſeems, big with child when he died; and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full ſhare of every thing, I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, *&c.* and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the ſhore; ſo that they all lived well enough, tho' it was true, they were not ſo induſtrious as the other two, as has been obſerved already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted; *viz.* that, as for religion, I dont know that there was any thing of that kind among them; they pretty often, indeed, put one another in mind, that there was a God, by the

very common method of ſeamen, *viz.* ſwearing by his name: Nor were their poor ignorant ſavage wives much the better for having been married to chriſtians, as we muſt call them; for as they knew very little of God themſelves, ſo they were utterly incapable of entering into any diſcourſe with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmoſt of all the improvement which I can ſay the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to ſpeak *Engliſh* pretty well; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to ſpeak *Engliſh* too, from their firſt learning to ſpeak, tho' they at firſt ſpoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of thoſe children above ſix years old when I came thither; for it was not much above ſeven years that they had fetched theſe five ſavage ladies over, but they had been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or leſs: I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her ſixth child; and the mothers were all a good ſort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modeſt and decent, helpful to one another, mighty obſervant and ſubject to their maſters, I cannot call them husbands; and wanted nothing but to be well inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at leaſt, by the conſequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate *Engliſhmen*, I muſt ſay ſomething of the *Spaniards*, who were the

main body of the family; and in whoſe ſtory there are ſome incidents alſo remarkable enough.

I had a great many diſcourſes with them about their circumſtances, when they were among the ſavages: They told me readily, that they had no inſtances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor miſerable dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet ſo abandoned themſelves to deſpair, and ſo ſunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but ſtarving: One of them, a grave and very ſenſible man, told me, he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wiſe men to give up themſelves to their miſery, but always to take hold of the helps which reaſon offered, as well for preſent ſupport, as for future deliverance: He told me, that grief was the moſt ſenſeleſs inſignificant paſſion in the world; for that it regarded only things paſt, which were generally impoſſible to be recalled or to be remedied, but had no view to things to come, and had no ſhare in any thing that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction, than propoſed a remedy: And upon this, he repeated a *Spaniſh* proverb; which, tho' I cannot repeat in juſt the ſame words that he ſpoke it, yet I remember I made it into an *Engliſh* proverb of my own thus:

*In trouble to be troubled,*
*Is to have your trouble doubled.*

He ran on then in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my ſolitude; my unweari-

ed application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which, in its circumſtances was at firſt much worſe than theirs, a thouſand times more happy than theirs was, even now, when they were all together: He told me, it was remarkable, that *Engliſhmen* had a greater preſence of mind, in their diſtreſs, than any people that ever he met with; that their unhappy nation, and the *Portugueſe*, were the worſt men in the world to ſtruggle with misfortunes; for that their firſt ſtep in dangers, after common efforts are over, was always to deſpair, lie down under it and die, without rouſing their thoughts up to proper remedies for eſcape.

I told him, their caſe and mine differed exceedingly; that they were caſt upon the ſhore without neceſſaries, without ſupply of food, or of preſent ſuſtenance, till they could provide it: That it is true, I had this diſadvantage and diſcomfort, that I was alone; but then the ſupplies I had providentially thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ſhip on ſhore, was ſuch a help as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himſelf as I had done: *Seignior*, ſays the *Spaniard*, had we poor *Spanigrds* been in your caſe, we ſhould never have gotten half thoſe things out of the ſhip as you did: Nay, ſays he, we ſhould never have found means to have gotten a raſt to carry them, or to have gotten a raft on ſhore without boat or ſail; and how much leſs ſhould we have done, ſaid he, if any of us had been alone! Well, I deſired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the hiſtory of their coming on ſhore, where they landed: He told me, they unhappily landed at a place

where there were people without proviſions; whereas, had they had the common ſenſe to have put off to ſea again, and gone to another iſland a little farther, they had found proviſions, though without people; there being an iſland that way, as they had been told, where there were proviſions, though no people; that is to ſay, that the *Spaniards* of *Trinidad* had frequently been there, and filled the iſland with goats and hogs at ſeveral times; where they had bred in ſuch multitude, and where turtle and ſea-fowls were in ſuch plenty, that they could have been in no want of fleſh, though they had found no bread; whereas here they were only ſuſtained with a few roots and herbs, which they underſtood not, and which had no ſubſtance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them ſparingly enough, and who could treat them no better, unleſs they would turn canibals, and eat men's fleſh, which was the great dainty of their country.

They gave me an account how many ways they ſtrove to civilize the ſavages they were with, and to teach them rational cuſtoms in the ordinary way of living, but in vain; and how they retorted it upon them, as unjuſt, that they, who came thither for aſſiſtance and ſupport, ſhould attempt to ſet up for inſtructors of thoſe that gave them bread; intimating, it ſeems, that none ſhould ſet up for the inſtructors of others, but thoſe who could live without them.

They gave me diſmal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how ſometimes they were many days without any food at all; the iſland they were upon being inhabited by a ſort of ſavages that lived more indolent, and, for that reaſon, were leſs ſupplied with

the neceſſaries of life, than they had reaſon to believe others were in the ſame part of the world; and yet they found, that theſe ſavages were leſs ravenous and voracious, than thoſe who had better ſupplies of food.

Alſo they added, that they could not but ſee with what demonſtrations of wiſdom and goodneſs, the governing providence of God directs the event of things in the world; which, they ſaid, appeared in their circumſtances; for if, preſſed by the hardſhips they were under, and the barrenneſs of the country where they were, they had ſearched after a better place to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

Then they gave me an account, how the ſavages, whom they lived among, expected them to go out with them into their wars: And it was true, that, as they had fire-arms with them, had they not had the diſaſter to loſe their ammunition, they ſhould not have been ſerviceable only to their friends, but have made themſelves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and ſhot, and yet in a condition, that they could not in reaſon deny to go out with their landlords to their wars; when they came in the field of battle, they were in a worſe condition than the ſavages themſelves; for they neither had bows nor arrows, nor could they uſe thoſe the ſavages gave them; ſo that they could do nothing but ſtand ſtill, and be wounded with arrows till they came up to the teeth of their enemies; and then, indeed, the three halberts they had, were of uſe to them; and they would often drive a whole little army before them, with thoſe hal-

berts and ſharpened ſticks put into the muzzles of their muſquets: But that for all this they were ſometimes ſurrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows; till at laſt they found the way to make themſelves large targets of wood, which they covered with ſkins of wild beaſts, whoſe names they knew not; and theſe covered them from the arrows of the ſavages; that, notwithſtanding theſe, they were ſometimes in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together, with the clubs of the ſavages, which was the time when one of them was taken priſoner; that is to ſay, the *Spaniard*, whom I had relieved: that at firſt they thought he had been killed, but when afterwards they heard he was taken priſoner, they were under the greateſt grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have reſcued him.

They told me, that when they were ſo knocked down, the reſt of their company reſcued them, and ſtood over them, fighting till they were come to themſelves, all but he who they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberts and pieces, ſtanding cloſe together in a line, through a body of above a thouſand ſavages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great ſorrow, becauſe it was with the loſs of their friend; whom, the other party finding him alive, carried off with ſome others, as I gave an account in my former.

They deſcribed moſt affectionately, how they were ſurpriſed with joy at the return of their friend and companion in miſery, who they thought had been de-

voured by wild beaſts of the worſt kind, *viz*, by wild men; and, yet how more and more they were ſurpriſed with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a chriſtian in any place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute, to their deliverance.

They deſcribed how they were aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the relief I ſent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not ſeen ſince their coming to that miſerable place; how often they croſsed it, and bleſſed it as bread ſent from heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their ſpirits to taſte it; as alſo, of the other things I had ſent for their ſupply. And, after all, they would have told me ſomething of the joy they were in, at the ſight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the perſon and place, from whence all theſe new comforts came; but they told me, it was impoſſible to expreſs it by words; for their exceſſive joy naturally driving them to unbecoming extravagancies, they had no way to deſcribe them, but by telling me, that they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their paſſion, ſuitable to the ſenſe that was upon them; that, in ſome it worked one way, and in ſome another; and that ſome of them, through a ſurpriſe of joy, would burſt out into tears; others be half-mad, and others immediately faint. This diſcourſe extremely affected me, and called to my mind *Friday*'s ecſtaſy, when he met his father, and the poor people's ecſtaſy, when I took them up at ſea, after their ſhip was on fire; the mate of the ſhip's joy, when he found himſelf delivered in the place, where he expected to periſh; and my own joy, when,

after twenty-eight years captivity, I found a good ſhip ready to carry me to my own country: All theſe things made me more ſenſible of the ralation of theſe poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the ſtate of things, as I found them, I muſt relate the heads of what I did for theſe people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the ſavages; or that, if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; ſo that they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a ſerious diſcourſe with the *Spaniard* whom I called governor, about their ſtay in the iſland; for, as I was not come to carry all of them off, ſo it would not be juſt to carry off ſome, and leave others, who perhaps, would be unwilling to ſtay, if their ſtrength was diminiſhed.

On the other hand, I told them, I came to eſtabliſh them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of ſundry kinds, for them: that I had been at a great charge to ſupply them with all things neceſſary; as well for their convenience, as their defence; and that I had ſuch and ſuch particular perſons with me, as well to increaſe and recruit their number, as by the particular neceſſary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to aſſiſt them in thoſe things, in which, at preſent, they were to ſeek.

They were all together, when I talked thus to them; and before I delivered to them the ſtores I had brought, I aſked them, one by one, if they had intirely forgot

and buried the firſt animoſities that had been among them, and could ſhake hands with one another, and engage in a ſtrict friendſhip, and union of intereſt, ſo that there might be no more miſunderſtanding or jealouſies.

*William Atkins*, with abundance of frankneſs and good-humour, ſaid, they had met with afflictions enough to make them all ſober, and enemies enough to make them all friends: That, for his part, he would live and die with them; and was ſo far from deſigning any thing againſt the *Spaniards*, that, he owned, they had done nothing to him but what his own mad humour made neceſſary, and what he would have done, and, perhaps, much worſe, in their caſe; and that he would aſk them pardon, if I deſired it, for the fooliſh and brutiſh things he had done to them; and was very willing and deſirous of living in terms of entire friendſhip and union with them; and would do any thing that lay in his power to convince them of it: And as for going to *England*, he cared not if he did not go thither theſe twenty years.

The *Spaniards* ſaid, they had, indeed, at firſt, diſarmed and excluded *William Atkins*, and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know: and they appealed to me, for the neceſſity they were under to do ſo; but that *William Atkins* had behaved himſelf ſo bravely in the great fight they had with the ſavages, and on ſeveral occaſions ſince, and had ſhewed himſelf ſo faithful to, and concerned for the general intereſt of them all, that they had forgotten all that was paſt; and thought he merited as much to be truſted with arms, and ſupplied with

neceſſaries, as any of them; and that they had teſtified their ſatisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himſelf: and as they had an intire confidence in him, and all his countrymen, ſo they acknowledged, they had merited that confidence, by all the methods that honeſt men could merit to be valued and truſted: and they moſt heartily embraced the occaſion of giving me this aſſurance, that they would never have any intereſt ſeparate from one another.

Upon theſe frank and open declarations of friendſhip, we appointed, the next day, to dine all together; and indeed, we made a ſplendid feaſt: I cauſed the ſhip's cook, and his mate to come on ſhore, and dreſs our dinner; and the old cook's mate we had on ſhore, aſſiſted. We brought on ſhore ſix pieces of good beef and four pieces of pork, out of the ſhip's proviſion, with our punch bowl, and materials to fill it; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of *French* claret, and ten bottles of *Engliſh* beer; things that neither the *Spaniards*, or the *Engliſhmen*, had taſted for many years; and which it may be ſuppoſed, they were exceeding glad of.

The *Spaniards* added to our feaſt five whole kids, which the cooks roaſted; and three of them were ſent covered up cloſe on board our ſhip, to the ſeamen, that they might feaſt on freſh meat from on ſhore, as we did with their ſalt meat from on board.

After this feaſt, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no diſpute about dividing, I ſhewed them there was ſufficient for them all; and deſired,

that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to ſay, equal when made up: as firſt, I diſtributed linen ſufficient to make every one of them four ſhirts; and, at the *Spaniard*'s requeſt, afterwards made them up ſix, theſe were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may ſay, they had long ſince forgot the uſe of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin *Engliſh* ſtuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat, like a frock, which I judged fitteſt for the heat of the ſeaſon, cool and looſe; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they ſhould make more, as they thought fit: The like for pumps, ſhoes, ſtockings, and hats, *&c.*

I cannot expreſs what pleaſure, what ſatisfaction, ſat upon the countenances of all theſe poor men, when they ſaw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furniſhed them: They told me, I was a father to them; and that, having ſuch a correſpondent as I was, in ſo remote a part of the world, it would make them forget, that they were left in a deſolate place: and they all voluntarily engaged to me, not to leave the place without my conſent.

Then I preſented to them the people I had brought with me; particularly the taylor, the ſmith, and the two carpenters, all of them moſt neceſſary people; but, above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more needful to them; and the taylor, to ſhew his concern for them, went to work immediately, and, with my leave, made them every one a ſhirt the firſt thing he did; and which was ſtill more, he taught the women not only

how to ſew and ſtitch, and uſe the needle, but made them aſſiſt to make the ſhirts for their husbands, and for all the reſt.

As to the carpenters, I ſcarce need mention how uſeful they were; for they took in pieces all my clumſy unhandy things, and made them clever convenient tables, ſtools, bedſteads, cupboards, lockers, ſhelves, and every thing they wanted of that kind.

But, to let them ſee how nature made artificers at firſt, I carried the carpenters to ſee *William Atkins*'s baſket-houſe, as I called it; and they both owned, they never ſaw an inſtance of ſuch natural ingenuity before; nor any thing ſo regular, and ſo handily built, at leaſt of its kind: And one of them, when he ſaw it, after muſing a good while, turning about to me, I am ſure, ſays he, that man has no need of us; you need do nothing but give him tools.

Then I brought them out all my ſtore of tools, and gave every man a digging-ſpade, a ſhovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows, or ploughs; and, to every ſeparate place, a pickax, a crow, a broad ax, and a ſaw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken, or worn out, they ſhould be ſupplied, without grudging, out of the general ſtores that I left behind.

Nails, ſtaples, hinges, hammers, chiſſels, knives, ſciſſors, and all ſorts of tools, and iron-work, they had without tale, as they required; for no man would care to take more than they wanted; and he muſt be a fool that would waſte or ſpoil them, on any account whatever: And, for the uſe of the ſmith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a ſupply.

My magazine of powder and arms, which I brought them, was ſuch, even to profuſion, that they could not but rejoice at them; for now they could march as I uſed to do, with a muſquet upon each ſhoulder, if there was occaſion; and were able to fight 1000 ſavages, if they had but ſome little advantages of ſituation; which alſo they could not miſs of, if they had occaſion.

I carried on ſhore with me the young man, whoſe mother was ſtarved to death, and the maid alſo; ſhe was a ſober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved ſo inoffenſively, that every one gave her a good word: She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ſhip but herſelf; but ſhe bore it with patience. After a while, ſeeing things ſo well ordered, and in ſo fine a way of thriving, upon my iſland; and conſidering, that they had neither buſineſs or acquaintance in the *Eaſt-Indies*, or reaſon for taking ſo long a voyage; I ſay, conſidering all this, both of them came to me, and deſired I would give them leave to remain on the iſland, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily; and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houſes ſet up, ſurrounded with a baſket-work, paliſado'd like *Atkins*'s, and adjoining to his plantation: Their tents were contrived ſo, that they had each of them a room apart to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great ſtore-houſe, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in; And now the other two *Engliſhmen* removed their habitation to the ſame place; and ſo the iſland was divided into three colonies, and no more;

*viz.* the *Spaniards* with old *Friday* and the firſt ſervants, at my old habitation under the hill; which was, in a word, the capital city; and where they had ſo enlarged and extended their works, as well under, as on the outſide of the hill, that they lived tho' perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there ſuch a little city in a wood, and ſo hid, I believe, in any part of the world: For, I verily believe, 1000 men might have ranged the iſland a month, and, if they had not known there was ſuch a thing, and looked on purpoſe for it, they would not have found it; for the trees ſtood ſo thick, and ſo cloſe, and grew ſo faſt matted into one another, that nothing but cutting them down firſt, could diſcover the place; except the two narrow entrances where they went in and out, could be found; which was not very eaſy: One of them was juſt down at the water's edge, on the ſide of the creek; and it was afterwards above 200 yards to the place; and the other was up the ladder at twice, as I have already formerly deſcribed it; and they had a large wood, thick planted, alſo, on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all diſcovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not eaſy to be diſcovered, to enter on that ſide.

The other colony was that of *Will Atkins*, where there was four families of *Engliſhmen*, I mean thoſe I had left there, with their wives and children; three ſavages, that were ſlaves; the widow and children of the *Engliſhman* that was killed; the young man and the maid, and, by the way, we made a wife of her alſo, before we went away: There were alſo the two

carpenters and the taylor, who I brought with me, for them; alſo the ſmith, who was a very neceſſary man to them, eſpecially as a gunſmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man whom I called *Jack of all trades;* who was, himſelf, as good, almoſt, as twenty men, for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow; and, before I went away, we married him to the honeſt maid that came with the youth in the ſhip; whom I mentioned before.

And now I ſpake of marrying, it brings me naturally to ſay ſomething of the *French* eccleſiaſtic, that I had brought with me out of the ſhip's crew, whom I took up at ſea. It is true, this man was a *Roman*, and, perhaps it may give offence to ſome hereafter, if I leave any thing extraordinary upon record, of a man, whom, before I begin, I muſt (to ſet him out in juſt colours) repreſent in terms very much to his diſadvantage, in the account of *Proteſtants;* as firſt, that he was a *Papiſt;* ſecondly, a *Papiſt Prieſt;* and thirdly, a *French Popiſh Prieſt.*

But juſtice demands of me to give him a due character; and I muſt ſay, he was a grave, ſober, pious, and moſt religious perſon; exact in his life, extenſive in his charity, and exemplary in almoſt every thing he did: What, then, can any one ſay, againſt my being very ſenſible of the value of ſuch a man, notwithſtanding his profeſſion? Though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others, who ſhall read this, that he was miſtaken.

The firſt hour that I began to converſe with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the *Eaſt-Indies*,

I found reaſon to delight exceedingly in his converſation: And he firſt began with me, about religion, in the moſt obliging manner imaginable.

Sir, ſays he, you have not only, under God (and, at that, he croſſed his breaſt) ſaved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ſhip, and, by your obliging civility, have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free converſation; Now, ſir, ſays he, you ſee by my habit, what my profeſſion is; and I gueſs by your nation, what yours is: I may think it is my duty, and, doubtleſs it is ſo, to uſe my utmoſt endeavours, on all occaſions, to bring all the ſouls that I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the catholic doctrine, but, as I am here under your permiſſion, and in your family, I am bound in juſtice to your kindneſs, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore, I ſhall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the points of religion, in which we may not agree, farther than you ſhall give me leave.

I told him, his carriage was ſo modeſt, that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true, we were ſuch people as they called heretics; but that he was not the firſt catholic that I had converſed with, without falling into any inconveniencies, or carrying the queſtions to any height in debate; that he ſhould not find himſelf the worſe uſed for being of a different opinion from us; and if we did not converſe without any diſlike on either ſide, upon that ſcore, it would be his fault, not ours.

He replied, that he thought our converſation might

be eaſily ſeparated from diſputes; that it was not his buſineſs to cap principles with every man he diſcourſed with; and that he rather deſired me to converſe with him as a gentleman, than as a *Religieux*; that if I would give him leave, at any time, to diſcourſe upon religious ſubjects, he would readily comply with it; and that then he did not doubt but I would allow him alſo to defend his own opinions, as well as he could: But that, without my leave, he would not break in upon me with any ſuch thing.

He told me farther, that he would not ceaſe to do all that became him in his office, as a prieſt, as well as a private chriſtian, to procure the good of the ſhip, and the ſafety of all that was in her: and though, perhaps, we would not join with him, and he could not pray *with* us, he hoped he might pray *for* us, which he would do upon all occaſions. In this manner we converſed; and, as he was of a moſt obliging gentleman-like behaviour, ſo he was, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, a man of good ſenſe, and, as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a moſt diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world, and particularly this was very remarkable; *viz.* That during the voyage he was now engaged in, he had the misfortune to be five times ſhipped and unſhipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ſhips he was in, were at firſt deſigned: that his firſt intent was, to have gone to *Martinico*; and that he went on board a ſhip bound thither, at *St. Maloes*; but being forced into *Lisbon*

in bad weather, the ſhip received ſome damage, by running aground in the mouth of the river *Tagus*, and was obliged to unload her cargo there: That finding a *Portugueſe* ſhip there bound to the *Madeiras*, and ready to ſail, and ſuppoſing he ſhould eaſily meet with a veſſel there bound to *Martinico*, he went on board, in order to ſail to the *Madeiras*; but the maſter of the *Portugueſe* ſhip, being but an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to *Fial*; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn; and therefore reſolved not to go to the *Madeiras*, but to load ſalt at the *Iſle of May*, to go away to *Newfoundland*. He had no remedy in this exigence, but to go with the ſhip; and had a pretty good voyage as far as the *Banks*, ſo they call the place where they catch the fiſh, where meeting with a *French* ſhip, found from *France* to *Quebeck*, in the river of *Canada*, and from thence to *Martinico* to carry proviſions, he thought he ſhould have an opportunity to complete his firſt deſign: But when he came to *Quebeck*, the maſter of the ſhip died, and the ſhip proceeded no farther: So the next voyage he ſhipped himſelf for *France*, in the ſhip that was burnt, when we took them up at ſea, and then ſhipped him with us for the *Eaſt-Indies*, as I have already ſaid. Thus he had been diſappointed in five voyages, all, as, I may call it, in one voyage, beſides what I ſhall have occaſion to mention farther of the ſame perſon.

But I ſhall not make digreſſions into other men's ſtories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affairs in the iſland: He came

to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the iſland; and it happened to be juſt when I was going to viſit the *Engliſhmen*'s colony, at the fartheſt part of the iſland; I ſay, he came me, and told me, with a very grave countenance, that he had, for two or three days, deſired an opportunity of ſome diſcourſe with me, which, he hoped, would not be diſpleaſing to me, becauſe he thought it might, in ſome meaſure, correſepond with my general deſign, which was the proſperity of my new colony; and, perhaps, might put it, at leaſt, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's bleſſing.

I looked a little ſurpriſed at the laſt part of his diſcourſe; and turning a little ſhort, how, ſir, ſaid I, can it be ſaid, that we are not in the way of God's bleſſing, after ſuch viſible aſſiſtances, and wonderful deliverances, as we have ſeen here, and of which I have given you a large account?

If you had pleaſed, ſir, ſaid he, (with a world of modeſty, and yet with great readineſs) to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been diſpleaſed, much leſs to think ſo hard of me, that I ſhould ſuggeſt, that you have not had wonderful aſſiſtances and deliverances: and, I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's bleſſing, and your deſign is exceeding good, and will proſper. But, ſir, ſaid he, tho' it were more ſo, than is even poſſible to you, yet there may be ſome among you, that are not equally right in their actions: And you know, that in the ſtory of *Iſrael*, one *Achan*, in the camp, removed God's bleſſing from them, and turned his hand ſo againſt them, that thirty-ſix of them, though not concerned in

the crime, were the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punishment.

I was sensibly touched with this discourse, and told him, his inference was so just, and the whole design seemed so sincere, and was really so religious in its own nature, that I was very sorry I had interrupted him; and begged him to go on: And, in the mean time, because it seemed, that what we had both to say, might take up some time, I told him, I was going to the *Englishmen*'s plantations; and asked him to go with me, and we might discourse of it by the way: He told me, he would the more willingly wait on me thither, because there, partly, the thing was acted, which he desired to speak to me about: So we walked on; and I pressed him to be free and plain with me, in what he had to say.

Why then, sir, says he, be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions, as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, tho' we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, sir, tho' we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion, and it is very unhappy, that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I shall shew afterwards; yet, there are some general principles in which we both agree; *viz.* First, that there is a God; and that this God, having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting to do what he has commanded, or by doing what he has expressly forbidden: And let our different religions be what they will, this general principle, is readily owned by

us all: that the bleſſing of God does not ordinarily follow a preſumptuous ſinning againſt his command; and every good chriſtian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care, living in a total neglect of God and his commands. It is not your men being proteſtants, whatever my opinion may be of ſuch, that diſcharges me from being concerned for their ſouls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they ſhould live in as little diſtance from, and enmity with, their maker as poſſible; eſpecially, if you give me leave to meddle ſo far in your circuit.

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him, I granted all he had ſaid; and thanked him, that he would ſo far concern himſelf for us; and begged he would explain the particulars, of what he had obſerved, that, like *Joſhua* (to take his own parable) I might put away the accurſed thing from us.

Why, then, ſir, ſays he, I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things, which, if I am right, muſt ſtand in the way of God's bleſſing upon your endeavours here, and which I ſhould rejoice, for your ſake, and their own, to ſee removed. And, ſir, ſays he, I promiſe myſelf, that you will fully agree with me in them all, as ſoon as I name them; eſpecially, becauſe I ſhall convince you, that every one of them may, with great eaſe, and very much to your ſatisfaction, be remedied.

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on. Firſt, ſir, ſays he, you have here four *Engliſhmen*, who have fetched women from among the ſavages, and have taken them as their wives, and have

had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any ſtated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet, in the ſenſe of both, no leſs than adulterers, and living in adultery. To this, ſir, ſays he, I know you will object, that there was no clergyman, or prieſt of any kind, or of any profeſſion, to perform the ceremony; nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have ſigned it between them. And I know alſo, ſir, what the *Spaniard* governor has told you; I mean of the agreement that he obliged them to make, when they took theſe women, *viz.* that they ſhould chuſe them out by conſent, and keep ſeparately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women as wives, but only an agreement among themſelves, to keep them from quarrelling.

But, ſir, the eſſence of the ſacrament of matrimony (ſo he called it, being a *Roman*) conſiſts not only in the mutual conſent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abſtain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while theſe ſubſiſt; and on all occaſions, as ability allows, to provide honeſtly for them, and their children; and to oblige the women to the ſame, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on the other ſide.

Now, ſir, ſays he, theſe men may, when they pleaſe, or when occaſion preſents, abandon theſe woman, diſown their children, leave them to periſh, and take other women, and marry them whilſt theſe are living.

And here he added, with ſome warmth, How, ſir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty? And how ſhall a bleſſing ſucceed your endeavours in this place, however good in themſelves, and however ſincere in your deſign, while theſe men, who at preſent are your ſubjects, under your abſolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?

I confeſs, I was ſtruck at the thing itſelf, but much more with the convincing arguments he ſupported it with; for it was certainly true, that tho' they had no clergyman on the ſpot, yet a formal contract on both ſides, made before witneſſes, and confirmed by any token, which they had all agreed to be bound by, tho' it had been but the breaking a ſtick between them, engaging the men to own theſe women for their wives upon all occaſions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the ſame with their huſbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the ſight of God; and it was a great neglect, that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off with my young prieſt, by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here; and they had lived ſo many years with them now, that if it was an adultery, it was paſt remedy; they could do nothing in it now.

Sir, ſays he, aſking your pardon for ſuch freedom, you are right in this; that it being done in your abſence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime. But I beſeech you, flatter not yourſelf, that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your uttermoſt now to put an end to it: How can you think,

but that, let the time paſt lie on whom it will, all the guilt, for the future, will lie intirely upon you? Becauſe it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it; and in nobody's power but yours.

I was ſo dull ſtill, that I did not take him right; but I imagined, that, by putting an end to it, he meant, that I ſhould part them, and not ſuffer them to live together any longer: And I ſaid to him, I could not do that by any means, for that it would put the whole iſland in confuſion. He ſeemed ſurpriſed that I ſhould ſo far miſtake him. No, ſir, ſays he, I do not mean, that you ſhould ſeparate them, but legally and effectually marry them now: And, ſir, as my way of marrying may not be ſo eaſy to reconcile them to, tho' it will be as effectual, even by your own laws; ſo your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men; I mean, by a written contract, ſigned by both man and woman, and by all the witneſſes preſent; which all the laws of *Europe* would decree to be vaild.

I was amazed to ſee ſo much true piety, and ſo much ſincerity of zeal, beſides the unuſual impartiality in his diſcourſe, as to his own party or church; and ſuch a true warmth for the preſerving people that he had no knowledge of, or relation to; I ſay, for preſerving them from tranſgreſſing the laws of God; the like of which, I had, indeed, not met with any-where. But recollecting what he had ſaid, of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would ſtand too; I returned it back upon him, and told him, I granted all that he had ſaid to be juſt, and, on his part, very kind, that I would diſcourſe with the men upon the

point now, when I came to them. And I knew no reaſon why they ſhould ſcruple to let him marry them all; which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in *England*, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I ſhall ſpeak of by itſelf.

I then preſſed him to tell me, what was the ſecond complaint which he had to make; acknowledging, that I was very much his debtor for the firſt; and thanked him heartily for it. He told me, he would uſe the ſame freedom and plainneſs in the ſecond; and hoped I would take it as well; And this was, that, notwithſtanding theſe *Engliſh* ſubjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with theſe women for almoſt ſeven years, and had taught them to ſpeak *Engliſh*, and even to read it; and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable underſtanding, and capable of inſtruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them any thing of the chriſtian religion; no, not ſo much as to know that there was a God, or a worſhip, or in what manner God was to be ſerved; or that their own idolatry, and worſhipping they knew not who, was falſe and abſurd.

This, he ſaid, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to an account for; and, perhaps, at laſt take the work out of their hands. He ſpoke this very affectionately and warmly. I am perſuaded, ſays he, had thoſe men lived in the ſavage country, whence their wives came, the ſavages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worſhip the devil, than any of theſe

men, ſo far as I can ſee, has taken with them, to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, ſir, ſaid he, tho' I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we ſhould be all glad to ſee the devil's ſervants, and the ſubjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the chriſtian religion; that they might, at leaſt, hear of God, and of a redeemer, and of the reſurrection, and of a future ſtate, things which we all believe; they had, at leaſt, been ſo much nearer coming into the boſom of the true church, than they are now in the public profeſſion of idolatry, and devil worſhip.

I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an exceſs of paſſion: How far, ſaid I to him, have I been from underſtanding the moſt eſſential part of a chriſtian, *viz.* to love the intereſt of the chriſtian church, and the good of other men's ſouls? I ſcarce have known what belongs to being a chriſtian. O, ſir, do not ſay ſo, replied he; this thing is not your fault. No! ſaid I, but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you? 'Tis not too late yet, ſaid he, be not too forward to condemn yourſelf. But, what can be done now? ſaid I; you ſee I am going away. Will you give me leave, ſaid he, to talk with theſe poor men about it? yes, with all my heart, ſaid I; and will oblige them to give heed to what you ſay too. As to that, ſaid he, we muſt leave them to the mercy of Chriſt; but 'tis our buſineſs to aſſiſt them, encourage them, and inſtruct them; and, if you will give me leave, and God his bleſſing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant ſouls ſhall be brought home into the great circle of chriſtianity, if not into the particu-

lar faith that we all embrace; and that even while you ſtay here. Upon this, I ſaid, I ſhall not only give you leave, but give you a thouſand thanks for it. What followed on this account I ſhall mention alſo again in its place.

I now preſſed him for the third article in which we were to blame: Why, really, ſays he, it is of the ſame nature, and I will proceed (aſking your leave) with the ſame plainneſs as before: It is about your poor ſavages yonder, who are (as I may ſay) your conquered ſubjects. It is a maxim, ſir, that is, or ought to be received among all chriſtians, of what church, or pretended church ſoever; *viz.* That chriſtian knowledge ought to be propagated by all poſſible means, and on all poſſible occaſions. 'Tis on this principle that our church ſends miſſionaries into *Perſia*, *India*, and *China*; and that our clergy, even of the ſuperior ſort, willingly engage in the moſt hazardous voyages, and the moſt dangerous reſidence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the chriſtian faith. Now, ſir, you have ſuch an opportunity here, to have ſix or ſeven-and-thirty poor ſavages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their maker and redeemer, that I wonder how you can paſs ſuch an occaſion of doing good; which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life.

I was now ſtruck dumb indeed, and had not one word to ſay; I had here a ſpirit of true chriſtian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind ſoever: As for me, I had not ſo much as entertained a thought of this in my heart

before; and, I believe, ſhould not have thought of it; for I looked upon theſe ſavages as ſlaves, and people, whom, had we any work for them to do, we would have uſed as ſuch, or would have been glad to have tranſported them to any other part of the world; for our buſineſs was to get rid of them; and we would all have been ſatisfied, if they had been ſent to any country, ſo they had never ſeen their own. But to the caſe: I ſay, I was confounded at his diſcourſe, and knew not what anſwer to make him. He looked earneſtly at me, ſeeing me in ſome diſorder: Sir, ſaid he, I ſhall be very ſorry, if what I have ſaid gives you any offence: No, no, ſaid I, I am offended with nobody but myſelf; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think, that I ſhould never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know ſir, ſaid I, what circumſtances I am in; I am bound to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in a ſhip freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an inſufferable piece of injuſtice to detain their ſhip here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owner's account: It is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here; and if I ſtay more, I muſt pay 3*l.* ſterling *per diem* demurrage: Nor can I ſtay upon demurrage above eight days more; and I have been here thirteen already; ſo that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unleſs I would ſuffer myſelf to be left behind here again; in which caſe, if this ſingle ſhip ſhould miſcarry in any part of her voyage, I ſhould be juſt in the ſame condition that I was left in here at firſt; and from which I have been ſo wonderfully delivered.

He owned the caſe was very hard upon me as to my voyage; but laid it home upon my conſcience, whether the bleſſing of ſaving ſeven-and-thirty ſouls, was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for? I was not ſo ſenſible of that as he was; and I returned upon him thus: Why, ſir, it is a valuable thing indeed, to be an inſtrument, in God's hand, to covert ſeven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Chriſt; but as you are an eccleſiaſtic, and are given over to that work, ſo that it ſeems naturally to fall into the way of your profeſſion, how is it then, that you do not rather offer yourſelf to undertake it, than preſs me to it?

Upon this he faced about, juſt before me, as he walked along, and, putting me to a full ſtop, made me a very low bow; I moſt heartily thank God, and you, ſir, ſays he, for giving me ſo evident a call to ſo bleſſed a work; and if you think yourſelf diſcharged from it, and deſire me to undertake it, I will moſt readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of ſuch a broken diſappointed voyage as I have met with, that I have dropt at laſt into ſo glorious a work.

I diſcovered a kind of rapture in his face, while he ſpoke this to me; his eyes ſparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits: In a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in ſuch a work. I pauſed a conſiderable while, before I could tell what to ſay to him; for I was really ſurpriſed to find a man of ſuch ſincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profeſſion only,

but even of any profeſſion whatſoever: But, after I had conſidered it a while, I aſked him ſeriouſly, if he was in earneſt, and that he would venture on the ſingle conſideration of an attempt on thoſe poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted iſland for, perhaps, his life; and, at laſt, might not know whether he ſhould be able to do them any good, or not?

He turned ſhort upon me, and aſked me, what I called a venture: Pray, ſir, ſaid he, what do you think I conſented to go in your ſhip to the *Eaſt-Indies* for? Nay, ſaid I, that I know not, unleſs it was to preach to the *Indians*. Doubtleſs it was, ſaid he; and do you think, if I can convert theſe ſeven-and-thirty men to the faith of Chriſt, it is not worth my time, tho' I ſhould never be fetched off the iſland again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to ſave ſo many ſouls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the ſame profeſſion? Yes, ſir, ſays he, I would give Chriſt and the bleſſed virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the leaſt happy inſtrument of ſaving the ſouls of theſe poor men, tho' I was never to ſet my foot off this iſland, or ſee my native country any more: But, ſince you will honour me, ſays he, with putting me into this work (for which I will pray for you all the days of my life) I have one humble petition to you, ſaid he, beſides. What is that, ſaid I. Why, ſays he, it is, that you will leave your man *Friday* with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to aſſiſt me; for, without ſome help, I cannot ſpeak to them, or they to me.

I was ſenſibly troubled at his requeſting *Friday*, becauſe I could not think of parting with him, and that

for many reaſons; he had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but ſincerely affectionate to the laſt degree; and I had reſolved to do ſomething conſiderable for him, if he outlived me, as it was probable he would: Then I knew, that as I had bred *Friday* up to be a proteſtant, it would quite confound him, to bring him to embrace another profeſſion; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old maſter was an heretic, and would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and ſo turn him back again to his firſt idolatry.

However, a ſudden thought relieved me in this ſtreight, and it was this; I told him, I could not ſay, that I was willing to part with *Friday* on any account whatever; though a work, that to him was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a ſervant. But, on the other hand, I was perſuaded, that *Friday* would by no means conſent to part with me; and then to force him to it, without his conſent, would be manifeſt injuſtice; becauſe I had promiſed I would never put him away; and he had promiſed and engaged to me that he would never leave me, unleſs I put him away.

He ſeemed very much concerned at it; for he had no rational acceſs to theſe poor people, ſeeing he did not underſtand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him, *Friday*'s father had learned *Spaniſh* which I found he alſo underſtood; and he ſhould ſerve him for an interpreter; ſo he was much better ſatisfied, and nothing

could perſuade him but he would ſtay to endeavour to convert them; but providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the firſt part of his objections. When we came to the *Engliſhmen*, I ſent for them all together; and after ſome accounts given them of what I had done for them, *viz.* What neceſſary things I had provided for them, and how they were diſtributed; which they were ſenſible of, and very thankful for; I began to talk to them of the ſcandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had already taken of it; and, arguing how unchriſtian and irreligious a life it was, I firſt aſked them, if they were married men or batchelors? They ſoon explained their condition to me, and ſhewed me that two of them were widowers, and the other three were ſingle men or batchelors: I aſked them, with what conſcience they could take theſe women, and lie with them, as they had done, call them their wives, and have ſo many children by them, and not be married lawfully to them?

They all gave me the anſwer that I expected; *viz.* that there was nobody to marry them; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives; and to keep them, and own them, as their wives; and they thought, as things ſtood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parſon, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the ſight of God, and were bound in conſcience to keep them as their wives; but that the laws of men

being otherwiſe, they might pretend they were not married, and ſo deſert the poor women and children hereafter; and that their wives, being poor deſolate women, friendleſs and moneyleſs, would have no way to help themſelves: I therefore told them, that unleſs I was aſſured of their honeſt intent, I could do nothing for them, but would take care, that what I did ſhould be for the women, and children, without them; and that unleſs they would give ſome aſſurances, that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they ſhould continue together as man and wife; for that it was both ſcandalous to men and offenſive to God, who they could not think would bleſs them, if they went on thus.

All this paſſed as I expected; and they told me, eſpecially *Will Atkins*, who ſeemed now to ſpeak for the reſt, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous, and as modeſt, and did to the utmoſt of their ſkill, as much for them, and for their children, as any women could poſſibly do; and they would not part with them on any account: And *William Atkins*, for his own particular, added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to *England*, and make him captain of the beſt man of war in the navy, he would not go with him, if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and if there was a clergyman in the ſhip, he would be married to her now, with all his heart.

This was juſt as I would have it; the prieſt was not with me at that moment, but was not far off: So, to try him farther, I told him, I had a clergyman with me, and, if he was ſincere, I would have him married the next morning; and bade him conſider of it, and talk with the reſt: He ſaid, as for himſelf, he need not conſider of it at all; for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a miniſter with me; and he believed they would be all willing alſo. I then told him, that my friend, the miniſter, was a *Frenchman*, and could not ſpeak *Engliſh*; but that I would act the clerk between them. He never ſo much as aſked me whether he was a papiſt or proteſtant; which was, indeed, what I was afraid of. But, I ſay, they never inquired about it. So we parted: I went back to my clergyman; and *Will Atkins* went in to talk with his companions. I deſired the *French* gentleman not to ſay any thing to them, till the buſineſs was thorough ripe; and I told him what anſwer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me, they had been conſidering what I had ſaid; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company; and they were very willing to give me the ſatisfaction I deſired, and to be formally married as ſoon as I pleaſed; for they were far from deſiring to part from their wives; and that they meant nothing but what was very honeſt, when they choſe them: So I appointed them to meet me the next morning; and that, in the mean time, they ſhould let their wives know the meaning of the marriage-law; and that it was not only to prevent any ſcandal, but

alſo to oblige them, that they ſhould not forſake them, whatever might happen.

The women were eaſily made ſenſible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well ſatisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reaſon to be; ſo they failed not to attend all together, at my apartment, the next morning, where I brought out my clergyman: And though he had not on a miniſter's gown, after the manner of *England*, or the habit of a prieſt, after the manner of *France;* yet having a black veſt, ſomething like a caſſock, with a ſaſh round it, he did not look very unlike a miniſter; and as for his language, I was interpreter.

But the ſerioufneſs of his behaviour to them, and the ſcruples he made of marrying the women, becauſe they were not baptized, and profeſſed chriſtians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his perſon; and there was no need after that to enquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed I was afraid his ſcruple would have been carried ſo far, as that he would not have married them at all; nay, notwithſtanding all I was able to ſay to him, he reſiſted me, though modeſtly, yet very ſteadily; and at laſt refuſed abſolutely to marry them, unleſs he had firſt talked with the men, and the women too: And though, at firſt, I was a little backward to it, yet at laſt, I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the ſincerity of his deſign.

When he came to them, he let them know, that I had acquainted him with their circumſtances, and with the preſent deſign: That he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them, as I

had desired; but that, before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them: He told them, that in the sight of all different men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery; and that it was true, that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, *viz.* that of marrying one that is a professed christian, to a savage, an idolater, and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see, that there was time left for it, to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told me, he doubted they were but indifferent christians themselves; that they had but little knowledge of God, or his ways; and therefore he could not expect, that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavour with their wives, to persuade them to become christians, and would as well as they could instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining christians with savages, nor was it consistent with the principles of the christian religion; and was, indeed, expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I deliver-

ed it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only ſometimes adding ſomething of my own, to convince them how juſt it was; and how I was of his mind: And I always very faithfully diſtinguiſhed between what I ſaid from myſelf, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me, it was very true what the gentleman had ſaid, that they were but very indifferent chriſtians themſelves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion: Lord, ſir, ſays *Will Atkins*, how ſhould we teach them religion? Why we know nothing ourſelves: And beſides, ſir, ſaid he, ſhould we go to talk to them of God, and Jeſus Chriſt, and heaven and hell, 'twould be to make them laugh at us; and aſk us, what we believe ourſelves? And if we ſhould tell them; we believe all the things that we ſpeak of to them; ſuch as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil; they would aſk us, where we intended to go ourſelves, who believe all this, and yet are ſuch wicked fellows, as we indeed are: Why, ſir, ſaid *Will*, 'tis enough to give them a ſurfeit of religion at firſt hearing: Folks muſt have ſome religion themſelves, before they pretend to teach other people. *Will Atkins*, ſaid I to him, tho' I am afraid what you ſay has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife, that ſhe is in the wrong? That there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her Gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor ſpeak; that there is a great being that made all things, and that can deſtroy all that he hath made; that he rewards the good, and puniſhes the bad; that we are to be judged by him, at laſt, for all we do here: You are not ſo igno-

rant, but even nature itſelf will teach you, that all this is true; and I am ſatisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourſelf.

That's true, ſir, ſaid *Atkins*; but with what face can I ſay any thing to my wife of all this, when ſhe will tell me immediately, it cannot be true?

Not true, ſaid I, what do you mean by that? Why, ſir, ſaid he, ſhe will tell me it cannot be true, that this God (I ſhall tell her of) can be juſt, or can puniſh, or reward, ſince I am not puniſhed, and ſent to the devil, that have been ſuch a wicked creature as ſhe knows I have been, even to her, and every body elſe; and that I ſhould be ſuffered to live, that have been always acting ſo contrary to what I muſt tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done.

Why truly, *Atkins*, ſaid I, I am afraid thou ſpeakeſt too much truth; and with that I let the clergyman know what *Atkins* had ſaid; for he was impatient to know: O! ſaid the prieſt, tell him there is one thing will make him the beſt miniſter in the world to his wife; and that is repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents: He wants nothing, but to repent; and then will be ſo much the better qualified to inſtruct his wife; he will then be able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that he is the juſt rewarder of good and evil; but that he is a merciful being, and, with infinite goodneſs and long-ſuffering, forbears to puniſh thoſe that offend; waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould return and live; that he often ſuffers wicked men to go on a long time, and even reſerves damnation to the general day of retribution: That it is a clear

evidence of God, and of a future ſtate, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their puniſhment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the reſurrection, and of the laſt judgment: Let him but repent for himſelf, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.

I repeated all this to *Atkins*, who looked very ſerious all the while, and who, we could eaſily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: When being eager, and hardly ſuffering me to make an end, I knew all this, maſter, ſays he, and a great deal more; but I han't the impudence to talk thus to my wife; when God, and my own conſcience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence againſt me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of a God, or a future ſtate, or any thing about it: And to talk of my repenting, alas (and with that he fetched a deep ſigh; and I could ſee that tears ſtood in his eyes) 'tis paſt all that with me, Paſt it! *Atkins*, ſaid I, What doſt thou mean by that? I know well enough what I mean, ſir, ſays he; I mean 'tis too late; and that is too true.

I told my clergyman, word for word, what he ſaid; the poor zealous prieſt (I muſt call him ſo; for be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a moſt ſingular affection for the good of other men's ſouls; and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own; I ſay, this zealous affectionate man) could not refrain tears alſo: But, recovering himſelf, he ſaid to me, aſk him but one queſtion, is he eaſy, that it is too late, or is he troubled, and wiſhes it were not ſo? I put the queſtion fairly to *Atkins*; and he anſwered,

with a great deal of paſſion, how could any man be eaſy in a condition that certainly muſt end in eternal deſtruction? That he was far from being eaſy; but that, on the contrary, he believed it would one time or other ruin him.

What do you mean by that? ſaid I. Why, he ſaid, he believed he ſhould, one time or another, cut his own throat to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman ſhook his head, with a great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but, turning quick to me upon it, ſaid, if that be his caſe, you may aſſure him, it is not too late; Chriſt will give him repentance: But pray, ſaid he, explain this to him, that as no man is ſaved but by Chriſt, and the merit of his paſſion, procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to ſin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? pray tell him, there may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer ſtrive, and when God may refuſe to hear; but that 'tis never too late for men to aſk mercy; and we that are Chriſt's ſervants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to all thoſe that ſincerely repent; ſo that 'tis never too late to repent.

I told *Atkins* all this, and he heard me with great earneſtneſs; but it ſeemed as if he turned off the diſcourſe to the reſt; for he ſaid to me, he would go and have ſome talk with his wife: So he went out a while, and we talked to the reſt. I perceived they were all ſtupidly ignorant, as to matters of religion; much as I was when I went rambling away from my father; and yet that there were none of them backward to

hear what had been ſaid: and all of them ſeriouſly promiſed, that they would talk with their wives about it, and to do their endeavour to perſuade them to turn chriſtians.

The clergyman ſmiled upon me, when I reported what anſwer they gave, but ſaid nothing a good while; but, at laſt, ſhaking his head, we that are Chriſt's ſervants, ſays he, can go no further than to exhort and inſtruct; and when men comply, ſubmit to the reproof, and promiſe what we aſk, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words: But, believe me, ſir, ſaid he, whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call *William Atkins*, I believe he is the only ſincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent; I won't deſpair of the reſt; but that man is perfectly ſtruck with the ſenſe of his paſt life; and I doubt not, but when he comes to talk religion to his wife, he will talk himſelf effectually into it; for attempting to teach others, is ſometimes the beſt way of teaching ourſelves. I knew a man, added he, who, having nothing but a ſummary notion of religion himſelf, and being wicked and profligate, to the laſt degree, in his life, made a thorough reformation in himſelf, by labouring to convert a *Jew*: And if that poor *Atkins* begins but once to talk ſeriouſly of Jeſus Chriſt to his wife, my life for it, he talks himſelf into a thorough convert, makes himſelf a penitent: And who knows what may follow?

Upon this diſcourſe however, and their promiſing, as above, to endeavour to perſuade their wives to embrace chriſtianity, he married the other three couple; but *Will Atkins* and his wife were not yet come in:

After this my clergyman, waiting a while, was curious to know where *Atkins* was gone; and, turning to me, ſays he, I intreat you, ſir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look; I dare ſay, we ſhall find this poor man, ſomewhere or other, talking ſeriouſly with his wife, and teaching her already ſomething of religion. I began to be of the ſame mind: So we went out together; and I carried him a way which none knew but myſelf, and where the trees were ſo thick ſet, as that it was not eaſy to ſee through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to ſee in, than to ſee out: When coming to the edge of the wood, I ſaw *Atkins*, and his tawny ſavage wife, ſitting under the ſhade of a buſh, very eager in diſcourſe; I ſtopped ſhort, till my clergyman came up to me; and then, having ſhewed him where they were, we ſtood and looked very ſteadily at them a good while.

We obſerved him very earneſt with her, pointing up to the ſun, and to every quarter of the heavens; then down to the earth, then out to the ſea, then to himſelf, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. Now, ſays my clergyman, you ſee my words are made good; the man preaches to her; mark him, now he is telling her, that our God has made him, and her, and the heavens, the earth, the ſea, the woods, the trees, *&c.* I believe he is, ſaid I: Immediately we perceived *Will Atkins* ſtart up upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands: We ſuppoſed he ſaid ſomething, but we could not hear him; it was too far for that: He did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and ſits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman ve-

ry attentive, but whether ſhe ſaid any thing or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could ſee the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks; and I could hardly forbear myſelf; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear any thing that paſſed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of diſturbing them: So we reſolved to ſee an end of this piece of ſtill converſation; and it ſpoke loud enough to us, without the help of voice: He ſat down again, as I have ſaid, cloſe by her, and talked again earneſtly to her; and two or three times we could ſee him embrace her paſſionately; another time we ſaw him take out his handkerchief, and wipe her eyes, and then kiſs her again, with a kind of tranſport very unuſual: And after ſeveral of theſe things, we ſaw him on a ſudden jump up again, and lend her his hand to help her up, when immediately, leading her by the hand, a ſtep or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued ſo about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, *St.* Paul, *St.* Paul! *behold he prayeth:* I was afraid *Atkins* would hear him; therefore I intreated him to with-hold himſelf a while, that we might ſee an end of the ſcene, which to me, I muſt confeſs, was the moſt affecting, and yet the moſt agreeable, that ever I ſaw in my life. Well, he ſtrove with himſelf, and contained himſelf for a while, but was in ſuch raptures of joy, to think that the poor heathen woman was become a chriſtian, that he was not able to contain himſelf; he wept ſeveral times; then throwing

up his hands, and croſſing his breaſt, ſaid over ſeveral things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for ſo miraculous a teſtimony of the ſucceſs of our endeavours; ſome he ſpoke ſoftly, and I could not well hear; others audibly, ſome in *Latin*, ſome in *French*; then two or three times the tears of joy would interrupt him, that he could not ſpeak at all. But I begged, that he would compoſe himſelf, and let us more narrowly and fully obſerve what was before us, which he did for a time, and the ſcene was not ended there yet: For, after the poor man and his wife were riſen again from their knees, we obſerved he ſtood talking ſtill eagerly to her; and we obſerved by her motion, that ſhe was greatly affected with what he ſaid, by her frequent lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breaſt, and ſuch other poſtures, as uſually expreſs the greateſt ſerioufneſs and attention: This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away too; ſo that we could ſee no more of them in that ſituation.

I took this interval to talk with my clergyman; and firſt, I told him, I was glad to ſee the particulars we had both been witneſſes to; that though I was hard enough of belief in ſuch caſes, yet that I began to think it was all very ſincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they might both be; and I hoped ſuch a beginning would have yet a more happy end; and who knows, ſaid I, but theſe two may in time, by inſtruction and example, work upon ſome of the others? Some of them, ſaid he, turning quick upon me, ay, upon all of them; depend upon it, if thoſe two ſavages (for he has been but little better, as

you relate it) ſhould embrace Jeſus Chriſt, they will never leave till they work upon all the reſt; for true religion is naturally communicative; and he that is once made a chriſtian, will never leave a pagan behind him, if he can help it. I owned, it was a moſt chriſtian principle to think ſo, and a teſtimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. But, my friend, ſaid I, will you give me liberty to ſtart one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the leaſt thing againſt that affectionate concern, which you ſhew for the turning the poor people from their paganiſm to the chriſtian religion. But how does this comfort you, while theſe people are, in your account, out of the pale of the catholic church; without which you believe there is no ſalvation; ſo that you eſteem theſe but heretics ſtill; and for other reaſons, as effectually loſt as the pagans themſelves?

To this he anſwered with abundance of candour, and chriſtian charity, thus; ſir, I am a catholic of the *Roman* church, and a prieſt of the order of *St. Benedict*, and I embrace all the principles of the *Roman* faith: But yet, if you will believe me, and this I do not ſpeak in compliment to you, or in reſpect to my circumſtances, and your civilities; I ſay, nevertheleſs, I do not look upon you, who call yourſelves reformed, without ſome charity; I dare not ſay, though I know it is our opinion in general; yet, I dare not ſay, that you cannot be ſaved; will by no means limit the mercy of Chriſt, ſo far as to think, that he cannot receive you into the boſom of his church, in a manner, to us, imperceivable, and which it is impoſſible for us to know, and I hope you have the ſame charity for us: I pray

daily for your being all reſtored to Chriſt's church, by whatſoever methods, he, who is all wiſe, is pleaſed to direct. In the mean time, ſure, you will allow it to conſiſt with me, as a *Roman*, to diſtinguiſh far between a *proteſtant* and a *pagan*; between one that calls on Jeſus Chriſt, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith; and a ſavage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Chriſt, no redeemer at all; and if you are not within the pale of the catholic church, we hope you are nearer being reſtored to it, than thoſe that know nothing at all of God, or his church: I rejoice therefore, when I ſee this poor man, who, you ſay, has been a profligate, and almoſt a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jeſus Chriſt, as we ſuppoſe he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every ſuch work proceeds, will ſenſibly touch his heart, and bring him to the further knowledge of the truth in his own time; and if God ſhall influence this poor man to convert and inſtruct the ignorant ſavage his wife, I can never believe, that he ſhall be caſt away himſelf: And have I not reaſon then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Chriſt, though they may not be brought quite home into the boſom of the catholic church, juſt at the time when I may deſire it; leaving it to the goodneſs of Chriſt to perfect his work in his own time, and his own way? Certainly I would rejoice, if all the ſavages in *America* were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were to be all proteſtants at firſt, rather than they ſhould continue pagans and heathens; firmly believing that he who had beſtowed that firſt light upon them, would farther

illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of his church, when he ſhould ſee good.

I was aſtoniſhed at the ſincerity and temper of this truly pious papiſt, as much as I was oppreſſed by the power of his reaſoning: And it preſently occurred to my thoughts, that if ſuch a temper was univerſal, we might be all catholic chriſtians, whatever church, or particular profeſſion, we joined to, or joined in; that a ſpirit of charity would ſoon work us all up into right principles; and, in a word, as he thought, that the like charity would make us all catholics, ſo I told him, I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would ſoon be all proteſtants: And there we left that part; for we never diſputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way, and, taking him by the hand, my friend, ſaid I, I wiſh all the clergy of the *Roman* church were bleſſed with ſuch moderation, and an equal ſhare of your charity; I am intirely of your opinion; but I muſt tell you, that if you ſhould preach ſuch doctrine in *Spain* or *Italy*, they would put you into the *inquiſition*.

It may be ſo, ſaid he, I know not what they might do in *Spain* and *Italy*; but I will not ſay, that they would be the better chriſtians for that ſeverity; for I am ſure there is no hereſy in too much charity.

Well, as *Will Atkins* and his wife were gone, our buſineſs there was over: So we went back our own way; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in. Obſerving this, I aſked my clergyman, if we ſhould diſcover to him, that we had ſeen

him under the buſh, or no; and it was his opinion we ſhould not; but that we ſhould talk to him firſt, and hear what he would ſay to us: So we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourſelves; and I began with him thus:

*Will Atkins*, ſaid I, prithee what education had you? What was your father?

*W. A.* A better man than ever I ſhall be. Sir, my father was a clergyman.

*R. C.* What education did he give you?

*W. A.* He would have taught me well, ſir; but I deſpiſed all education, inſtruction, or correction, like a beaſt as I was.

*R. C.* It is true, *Solomon* ſays, *He that deſpiſeth reproof is brutiſh.*

*W. A.* Ay, ſir, I was brutiſh indeed; I murdered my father; for God's ſake, ſir, talk no more about that, ſir; I murdered my poor father.

*Prieſt.* Ha! a murderer†!

† *Here the Prieſt ſtarted* (for I interpreted every word as he ſpoke it) *and looked pale: It ſeems he believed that* Will *had really killed his own father.*

*R. C.* No, no, ſir, I do not underſtand him ſo: *Will Atkins*, explain yourſelf; you did not kill your father, did you, with your own hands?

*W. A.* No, ſir; I did not cut his throat; but I cut the thread of all his comforts, and ſhortened his days; I broke his heart by the moſt ungrateful unnatural

return for the moſt tender affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

*R. C.* Well, I did not aſk you about your father, to extort this confeſſion; I pray God give you repentance for it, and forgive you that, and all your other ſins; but I aſked you, becauſe I ſee, that though you have not much learning, yet you are not ſo ignorant as ſome are, in things that are good; that you have known more of religion a great deal than you practiſed.

*W. A.* Though you, ſir, did not extort the confeſſion that I made about my father, conſcience does; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the ſins againſt our indulgent parents are certainly the firſt that touch us; the wounds they make, lie deepeſt; and the weight they leave, will lie heavieſt upon the mind, of all the ſins we can commit.

*R. C.* You talk too feelingly and ſenſibly for me *Atkins*; I cannot bear it.

*W. A.* You bear it, maſter! I dare ſay you know nothing of it.

*R. C.* Yes, *Atkins*, every ſhore, every hill, nay, I may ſay, every tree in this iſland is witneſs to the anguiſh of my ſoul, for my ingratitude and baſe uſage of a good tender father; a father much like yours, by your deſcription; and I murdered my father as well as you, *Will Atkins*; but think, for all that, my repentance is ſhort of yours too † by a great deal.

† *I would have ſaid more, if I could have reſtrained my paſſion; but I thought this poor man's repentance was ſo much ſincerer than mine, that I was going to leave off the diſcourſe, and ritire; for I was ſurpriſed with what he ſaid and thought that inſtead of my going about to teach and inſtruct him the man was made a teacher and inſtructor to me, in a moſt ſurpriſing and unexpected manner.*

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and ſaid to me, did I not ſay, ſir, that when this man was converted, he would preach to us all? I tell you, ſir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me; he will make chriſtians of all in the iſland. But, having a little compoſed myſelf, I renewed my diſcourſe with *Will Atkins*.

But, *Will*, ſaid I, how comes the ſenſe of this matter to touch you juſt now?

*W. A.* Sir, you have ſet me about a work that has ſtruck a dart through my very ſoul; I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a chriſtian of her; and ſhe has preached ſuch a ſermon to me, as I ſhall never forget while I live.

*R. C.* No, no; it is not your wife has preached to you; but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conſcience has flung them back upon you.

*W. A.* Ay, ſir, with ſuch a force as is not to be reſiſted.

*R. C.* Pray, *Will*, let us know what paſſed between

you and your wife; for I know ſomething of it already,

*W. A.* Sir, it is impoſſible to give you a full account of it; I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to expreſs it; but let her have ſaid what ſhe will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I reſolved to amend and reform my life.

*R. C.* But tell us ſome of it. How did you begin, *Will?* for this has been an extraordinary caſe, that is certain; ſhe has preached a ſermon, indeed, if ſhe has wrought this upon you.

*W. A.* Why, I firſt told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reaſons were, that men and women were obliged to enter into ſuch compacts, as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwiſe order and juſtice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confuſedly with one another, and neither families be kept intire, or inheritances be ſettled by a legal deſcent.

*R. C.* You talk like a civilian, *Will.* Could you make her underſtand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no ſuch thing among the ſavages, but marry any-how, without any regard to relation, conſanguinity, or family; brother and ſiſter; nay, as I have been told, even the father and daughter, and the ſon and the mother.

*W. A.* I believe, ſir, you are miſinformed; and my wife aſſures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it; perhaps, for any further relations, they may not

be ſo exact as we are; but ſhe tells me, they never touch one another in the near relations you ſpeak of.

*R. C.* Well, what did ſhe ſay to what you told her?

*W. A.* She ſaid, ſhe liked it very well, and it was much better than in her country.

*R. C.* But, did you tell her what marriage was?

*W. A.* Ay, ay, there began all our dialogue. I aſked her, if ſhe would be married to me our way? She aſked me, what way that was? I told her, marriage was appointed by God; and here we had a ſtrange talk together, indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

N. B. *This dialogue between* W. Atkins *and his wife, as I took it down in writing, juſt after he told it me, was as follows:*

*Wife.* Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

*W. A.* Yes, my dear; God is in every country.

*Wife.* No your God in my country; my country have the great old *Benamuckee* God.

*W. A.* Child, I am very unfit to ſhew you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the ſea, and all that in them is.

*Wife.* No makee de earth; no you God makee de earth; no makee my country *.

* W. A. *laughed a little at her expreſſion of God not making her country.*

*Wife.* No laugh: Why laugh me? This no ting to laugh †.

† *He was juſtly reproved by his wife; for ſhe was more ſerious than he, at firſt.*

*W. A.* That's true indeed; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

*Wife.* Why you ſay, you God make all?

*W. A.* Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and me, and all things; for he is the only true God; there is no God but he; he lives for ever in heaven.

*Wife.* Why you no tell me long ago?

*W. A.* That's true indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with any thing before, but have lived without God in the world myſelf.

*Wife.* What have you de great God in you country, you no know him? No ſay O to him? No do good ting for him? That no impoſſible!

*W. A.* It is too true though, for all that: We live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

*Wife.* But why God let you do ſo? Why he no makee you good live?

*W. A.* It is all our own fault.

*Wife.* But you ſay me, he is great, much great, have much great power; can make kill when he will; why he no makee kill when you no ſerve him? No ſay O to him? No be good mans?

*W. A.* That is true; he might ſtrike me dead, and I ought to expect it; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true; but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deſerve.

*Wife.* But then, do not you tell God tankee for that too?

*W. A.* No, indeed: I have not thanked God for his

mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

*Wife.* Then you God no God; me no think, believe he be ſuch one, great much power, ſtrong; no makee kill you, though you makee him much angry.

*W. A.* What! will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God! What a dreadful creature am I! And what a ſad truth is it, that the horrid lives of chriſtians hinder the converſions of heathens.

*Wife.* How me tink you have great much God * up there, and yet no do well, no do good ting? Can he tell? Sure he no tell what you do.

* *She points up to heaven.*

*W. A.* Yes, yes, he knows and ſees all things; he hears us ſpeak, ſees what we do, knows what we think, though we not ſpeak.

*Wife.* What! he no hear you ſwear, curſe, ſpeak the great damn?

*W. A.* Yes, yes, he hears it all.

*Wife.* Where be then the muchee great power ſtrong?

*W. A.* He is merciful; that is all we can ſay for it; and this proves him to be the true God; he is God, and not man; and therefore we are not conſumed †.

† *Here* Will Atkins *told us, he was ſtruck with horror, to think how he could tell his wife ſo clearly, that God ſees, and hears, and knows the ſecret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do; and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.*

*Wife.* Merciful! what you call dat?

*W. A.* He is our father and maker; and he pities and ſpares us.

*Wife.* So then he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then he no good himſelf, or no great able.

*W. A.* Yes, yes, my dear; he is infinitely good, and infinitely great, and able to puniſh too; and ſometimes, to ſhew his juſtice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to deſtroy ſinners, and make examples; many are cut off in their ſins.

*Wife.* But no makee kill you yet; then he tell you, may be, that he no makee you kill, ſo you make de bargain with him, you do bad ting, he no be angry at you, when he be angry at other mans?

*W. A.* No, indeed, my ſins are all preſumptions upon his goodneſs; and he would be infinitely juſt, if he deſtroyed me, as he has done other men.

*Wife.* Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead! What you ſay to him for that? You no tell him tankee for all that too!

*W. A.* I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

*Wife.* Why he no makee you much good better? you ſay he makee you?

*W. A.* He made me, as he made all the world; 'tis I have deformed myſelf, and abuſed his goodneſs, and have made myſelf an abominable wretch.

*Wife.* I wiſh you makee God know me; I no makee him angry; I no do bad wicked ting.

*Here* Will Atkins *ſaid his heart ſunk within him, to hear a poor untaught creature deſire to be taught to know God; and he ſuch a wicked wretch, that he could not ſay one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make moſt irrational to her to believe; nay, that already ſhe could not believe in God, becauſe he that was ſo wicked was not deſtroyed.*

*W. A.* My dear, you mean, you wiſh I could teach you to know God, not God to know you; for he knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

*Wife.* Why then he know what I ſay to you now; he know me wiſh to know him: How ſhall me know who makee me?

*W. A.* Poor creature, he muſt teach thee; I cannot teach thee: I'll pray to him to teach thee to know him; and to forgive me, that I am unworthy to teach thee.

*The poor fellow was in ſuch an agony at her deſiring him to make her know God, and her wiſhing to know him, that, he ſaid, he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the ſaving knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and to pardon his ſins, and accept of his being the unworthy inſtrument of inſtructing her in the principles of religion; after which he ſat down by her again; and their dialogue went on.*

*N. B.* This was the time when we ſaw him kneel down, and lift up his hands.

*Wife.* What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you ſay? Who you ſpeak to? What is that?

*W. A.* My dear, I bow my knees in token of my ſubmiſſion to him that made me: I ſaid O to him, as you call it, and as you ſay, your old men do to their idol *Benamuckee;* that is, I pray to him.

*Wife.* What you ſay O to him for?

*W. A.* I prayed to him to open your eyes, and your underſtanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

*Wife.* Can he do that too?

*W. A.* Yes, he can; he can do all things.

*Wife.* But no he hear what you ſay?

*W. A.* Yes, he has bid us pray to him; and promiſed to hear us.

*Wife.* Bid you pray? When he bid you? How he bid you? What! you hear him ſpeak?

*W. A.* No, we do not hear him ſpeak; but he has revealed himſelf many ways to us.

*Here he was at a great loſs to make her underſtand, that God had revealed himſelf to us by his word; and what his word was: But, at laſt he told it her thus.*

*W. A.* God has ſpoken to ſome good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inſpired good men, by his ſpirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

*Wife.* Me no underſtand that: Where is book?

*W. A.* Alas! my poor creature, I have not this book;

but, I hope, I ſhall, one time or other, get it for you to read it.

*Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpreſſible grief, that he had not a bible.*

*Wife.* But how you makee me know, that God teachee them to write that book?

*W. A.* By the ſame rule that we know him to be God.

*Wife.* What rule, what way you know?

*W. A.* Becauſe he teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy; and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and becauſe he forbids, and commands us to avoid all that is wicked, that is evil in itſelf, or evil in its conſequences.

*Wife.* That me would underſtand, that me fain ſee; if he reward all good thing, puniſh all wicked thing, he teachee all good thing, forbid all wicked thing, he make all thing, he give all thing; he hear me when I ſay O to him, as you go to do juſt now; he makee me good, if I wiſh be good; he ſpare me, no makee kill me, when I no be good; all this you ſay he do; yes, he be great God; me take, think, believe, him be great God; me ſay O to him too, with you, my dear.

Here the poor man ſaid he could forbear no longer; but, raiſing her up, made her kneel by him; and he prayed to God aloud, to inſtruct her in the knowledge of himſelf, by his ſpirit; and that by ſome good providence, if poſſible, ſhe might ſome time or other come to have a bible, that ſhe might read the word of God, and be taught by it to know him.

*This was the time that we ſaw him lift her up by the hand, and ſaw him kneel down by her, as above.*

They had ſeveral other diſcourſes, it ſeems, after this, too long to ſet down here; and particularly ſhe made him promiſe, that ſince he confeſſed his own life had been a wicked abominable courſe of provocation againſt God, that he would reform it, and not make God angry any more, leſt he ſhould make him dead, as ſhe called it, and then ſhe ſhould be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and leſt he ſhould be miſerable, as he had told her wicked men ſhould be after death.

This was a ſtrange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly the young clergyman; he was indeed wonderfully ſurpriſed with it; but under the greateſt affliction imaginable, that he could not talk to her; that he could not ſpeak *Engliſh* to make her underſtand him; and as ſhe ſpoke but very broken *Engliſh* he could not underſtand her. However he turned himſelf to me, and told me, that he believed there muſt be more to do with this women than to marry her: I did not underſtand him at firſt, but at length he explained himſelf; *viz.* That ſhe ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it preſently: No, no; hold ſir, ſaid he, though I would have her baptized by all means, yet I muſt obſerve, that *Will Atkins*, her husband, has, indeed, brought her in a wonderful manner to be willing to embrace a religious life; and has given her juſt i-

deas of the being of a God, of his power, juſtice, and mercy; yet I deſire to know of him, if he has ſaid any thing to her of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the ſalvation of ſinners; of the nature of faith in him, and the redemption by him; of the holy ſpirit, the reſurrection, the laſt judgment, and a future ſtate.

I called *Will Atkins* again, and aſked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us, he had ſaid ſomething to her of all thoſe things, but that he was himſelf ſo wicked a creature, and his own conſcience ſo reproached him with his horrid ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehenſions, that her knowledge of him ſhould leſſen the attention ſhe ſhould give to thoſe things, and make her rather contemn religion, than receive it: But he was aſſured, he ſaid, that her mind was ſo diſpoſed to receive due impreſſions of all thoſe things, that if I would but diſcourſe with her, ſhe would make it appear to my ſatisfaction, that my labour would not be loſt upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and, placing myſelf as interpreter between my religious prieſt and the woman, I intreated him to begin with her; but ſure ſuch a ſermon was never preached by a popiſh prieſt in theſe latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the ſincerity of a chriſtian, without the errors of a *Roman Catholic*; and that I took him to be ſuch a clergyman, as the *Roman* Biſhops were, before the church of *Rome* aſſumed ſpiritual ſovereignity over the conſciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace

the konwledge of Chriſt, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and aſtoniſhment only, as ſhe did the firſt notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a ſurpriſing degree of underſtanding, ſcarce to be imagined, much leſs to be expreſſed; and at her own requeſt, ſhe was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I intreated him, that he would perform that office with ſome caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the *Roman* church, if poſſible; becauſe of other ill conſequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion, which we were inſtructing the other in. He told me, that as he had no conſecrated chapel, nor proper things for the office, I ſhould ſee he would do it in a manner, that I ſhould not know by it, that he was a *Roman Catholic* myſelf, if I had not known in before: And ſo he did; for ſaying only ſome words over to himſelf in *Latin*, which I could not underſtand, he poured a whole diſh full of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in *French* very loud, *MARY*; which was the name her husband deſired me to give her, for I was her godfather, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; ſo that none could know any thing by it, what religion he was of: He gave the benediction afterwards in *Latin*; but either *Will Atkins* did not know but it was in *French*, or elſe did not take notice of it at that time.

As ſoon as this was over, he married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned himſelf to *Will Atkins*, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him, not only to perſevere in that good diſpoſition he

was in, but to ſupport the convictions that were upon him, by a reſolution to reform his life; told him, it was in vain to ſay he repented, if he did not forſake his crimes; repreſented to him, how God had honoured him with being the inſtrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the chriſtain religion; and that he ſhould be careful he did not diſhonour the grace of God; and that, if he did, he would ſee the heathen a better chriſtain than himſelf; the ſavage converted, and the inſtrument caſt away.

He ſaid a great many good things to them both, and then recommending them, in a few words, to God's goodneſs, gave them the benediction again, I repeating every word to them in *Engliſh*: And thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the moſt pleaſant agreeable day to me that ever I paſſed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet; his thoughts hung continually upon the converſion of the 37 ſavages; and fain he would have ſtaid upon the iſland to have undertaken it; but I convinced him, *firſt*, that his undertaking was impracticable in itſelf; and *ſecondly*, that, perhaps, I would put it into a way of being done, in his abſence, to his ſatisfaction; of which by and by.

Having thus brought the affair of the iſland to a narrow compaſs, I was preparing to go on board the ſhip, when the young man, whom I had taken out of the famiſhed ſhip's company, came to me, and told me, he underſtood I had a clergyman with me; and that I had cauſed the *Engliſhmen* to be married to the ſavages, whom they called wives; that he had a match too,

which he desired might be finished before I went, between two christians; which, he hoped, would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other christian woman on the island; so I began to persuade him not to do any thing of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance: I represented, that he had some considerable substance in the world, and good friends, as I understood by himself, and by his maid also; that the maid was not only poor, and a servant, but was unequal to him, she being 26 or 27 years old, and he not above 17 or 18; that he might, very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again; and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice; and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me smiling; and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstances being melancholy and disconsolate enough; and he was very glad to hear, that I had thoughts of putting them in a way to see their own country again; and that nothing should have set him upon staying there, but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was; give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself here like a planter,

waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to *England*, I would redeem him, and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came to *England*; that he would give me ſome letters to his friends in *London*, to let them know how good I had been to him, and what part of the world, and what circumſtances I had left him in: And he promiſed me, that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvements he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, ſhould be wholly mine.

His diſcourſe was very prettily delivered, conſidering his youth; and was the more agreeable to me, becauſe he told me poſitively the match was not for himſelf. I gave him all poſſible aſſurances, that, if I lived to come ſafe to *England*, I would deliver his letters, and do his buſineſs effectually; and that he might depend I would never forget the circumſtances I left him in; but ſtill I was impatient to know who was the perſon to be married: Upon which he told me, it was my *Jack of all trades*, and his maid *Suſan*.

I was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed when he named the match; for, indeed, I had thought it very ſuitable. The character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, ſhe was a very honeſt, modeſt, ſober, and religious young woman; had a very good ſhare of ſenſe; was agreeable enough in her perſon; ſpoke very handſomely, and to the purpoſe; always with decency and good manners, and not backward to ſpeak, when any thing required it, or impertinently forward to ſpeak when it was not her buſineſs; very handy and houſewifely in any thing that was before her: an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governeſs

to the whole iſland; ſhe knew very well how to behave herſelf to all kind of folks ſhe had about her, and to better, if ſhe had found any there.

The match being propoſed in this manner, we married them the ſame day; and, as I was father at the altar, as I may ſay, and gave her away, ſo I gave her a portion; for I appointed her and her husband a handſome large ſpace of ground for their plantation; and, indeed, this match, and the propoſal the young gentleman made to me, to give him a ſmall property in the iſland, put me upon parcelling it out among them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their ſituation.

This ſharing out the land to them I left to *Will Atkins*, who, indeed, was now grown a moſt ſober, grave, managing fellow; perfectly reformed, exceeding pious and religious; and, as far as I may be allowed to ſpeak poſitively in ſuch a caſe, I verily believe, was a true, ſincere penitent.

He divided things ſo juſtly, and ſo much to every one's ſatisfaction, that they only deſired one general writing under my hand for the whole: which I cauſed to be drawn up, and ſigned and ſealed to them, ſetting out the bounds and ſituation of every man's plantation, and teſtifying, that I gave them thereby, ſeverally, a right to the whole poſſeſſion and inheritance of the reſpective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs; reſerving all the reſt of the iſland as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after eleven years, if I or any one from me, or in my name, came

to demand it, producing an atteſted copy of the ſame writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them, I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themſelves; only made them promiſe me, to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another: And ſo I prepared to leave them.

One thing I muſt not omit; and that is, that being now ſettled in a kind of commonwealth among themſelves, and having much buſineſs in hand, it was but odd to have ſeven-and-thirty *Indians* live in a nook of the iſland, independent, and indeed unemployed; for, excepting the providing themſelves food which they had difficulty enough in, ſometimes, they had no manner of buſineſs or property to manage: I propoſed therefore to the governor *Spaniard* that he ſhould go to them with *Friday*'s father, and propoſe to them to remove, and either plant for themſelves, or take them into their ſeveral families as ſervants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being abſolute ſlaves; for I would not admit them to make them ſlaves by force, by any means, becauſe they had their liberty given by capitulation and, as it were, articles of ſurrender, which they ought not to break.

They moſt willingly embraced the propoſal, and came all very chearful along with him; ſo we allotted them land, and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the reſt choſe to be employed as ſervants in the ſeveral families we had ſettled; and thus my colony was in a manner ſettled, as follows: The *Spaniards* poſſeſſed my original habitation, which

was the capital city, and extended their plantation all along the ſide of the brook, which made the creek that I have ſo often deſcribed, as far as my bower; and as they increaſed their culture, it went always eaſtward; the *Engliſh* lived in the north-eaſt part, were *Will Atkins* and his comrades began, and came on ſouthward, and ſouth-weſt, towards the back part of the *Spaniards*; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occaſion; ſo that they need not joſtle one another for want of room.

All the weſt-end of the iſland was left uninhabited, that if any of the ſavages ſhould come on ſhore there, only for their uſual cuſtomary barbarities, they might come and go; if they diſturbed nobody, nobody would diſturb them; and no doubt but they were often aſhore, and went away again; for I never heard, that the planters were ever attacked and diſturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the ſavages might, perhaps, be ſet on foot in his abſence, to his ſatisfaction: And I told him, that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the ſavages being thus divided among the chriſtians, if they would but every one of them do their part with thoſe which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed preſently in that, if, ſaid he, they will do their part; but how, ſays he, ſhall we obtain that of them? I told him, we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one

by one, which he thought beſt; ſo we divided it; he to ſpeak to the *Spaniards*, who were all papiſts: and I to the *Engliſh*, who were all proteſtants; and we recommended it earneſtly to them, and made them promiſe, that they would never make any diſtinction of papiſt or proteſtant, in their exhorting the ſavages to turn chriſtians, but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their ſaviour Jeſus Chriſt; and they likewiſe promiſed us, that they would never have any differences or diſputes, one with another, about religion.

When I came to *Will Atkins*'s houſe (I may call it ſo, for ſuch a houſe, or ſuch a piece of baſket-work, I believe, was not ſtanding in the world again! I ſay, when I came thither) I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and *Will Atkins*'s wife, were become intimates; and this prudent, religious, young woman, had perfected the work *Will Atkins* had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new baptized ſavage woman was made ſuch a chriſtian, as I have ſeldom heard of any like her, in all my obſervation, or converſation in the world.

It came next into my mind, in the morning, before I went to them, that among all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left a bible; in which I ſhewed myſelf leſs conſidering for them, than my good friend the widow was for me, when ſhe ſent me the cargo of 100*l.* from *Lisbon*, where ſhe packed up three bibles and a prayer book. However, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever ſhe imagined; for they were reſerved for the comfort and

inſtruction of thoſe that made much better uſe of them than I had done.

I took one of the bibles in my pocket, and when I came to *Will Atkins*'s tent or houſe, I found the young woman, and *Atkins*'s baptized wife, had been diſcourſing of religion together; (for *Will Atkins* told it me, with a great deal of joy;) I aſked, if they were together now? and he ſaid, yes; ſo I went into the houſe, and he with me, and we found them together very earneſt in diſcourſe: O ſir, ſays *William Atkins*, when God has ſinners to reconcile to himſelf, and aliens to bring home, he never wants a meſſenger: My wife has got a new inſtructor; I knew I was unworthy, as I was uncapable of that work; that young woman has been ſent hither from heaven; ſhe is enough to convert a whole iſland of ſavages. The young woman bluſhed, and roſe up to go away, but I deſired her to ſit ſtill; I told her ſhe had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bleſs her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not aſk; but I put my hand in my pocket, and pulled out my bible; here, ſaid I to *Atkins*, I have brought you an aſſiſtant, that, perhaps, you had not before. The man was ſo confounded, that he was not able to ſpeak for ſome time; but, recovering himſelf, he takes it with both his hands, and, turning to his wife; here, my dear, ſays he, did not I tell you, our God, though he lives above, could hear what we ſaid? here is the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the buſh; now God has heard us and ſent it. When he

had ſaid thus, the man fell into ſuch tranſports of a paſſionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was ſurpriſed, and was like to have run into a miſtake, that none of us were aware of; for ſhe firmly believed God had ſent the book upon her huſband's petition: It is true, that providentially it was ſo, and might be taken ſo in a conſequent ſenſe; but I believe it would have been no difficult matter, at that time, to have perſuaded the poor woman to have believed, that an expreſs meſſenger came from heaven, on purpoſe to bring that individual book; but it was too ſerious a matter, to ſuffer any deluſion to take place: So I turned to the young woman, and told her, we did not deſire to impoſe upon the new convert, in her firſt, and more ignorant underſtanding of things; and begged her to explain to her, that God may be very properly ſaid to anſwer our petitions, when in the courſe of his providence, ſuch things are, in a particular manner, brought to paſs, as we petitioned for; but we do not expect returns from heaven, in a miraculous and particular manner; and that it is our mercy it is not ſo.

This the young woman did afterwards effectually; ſo that there was, I aſſure you, no prieſtcraft uſed here; and I ſhould have thought it one of the moſt unjuſtifiable frauds in the world, to have had it ſo; but the ſurpriſe of joy upon *Will Atkins*, is really not to be expreſſed; and there, we may be ſure, was no deluſion: Sure no man was ever more thankful in the world for any thing of its kind, than he was for this

bible; and, I believe, never any man was glad of a bible from a better principle, and though he had been a moſt profligate creature, deſperate, headſtrong, outrageous, furious, and wicked, to a great degree; yet this man is a ſtanding rule to us all for the well inſtructing children; *viz.* that parents ſhould never give over to teach and inſtruct, or ever deſpair of the ſucceſs of their endeavours, let the children be ever ſo obſtinate, refractory, or, to appearance, inſenſible of inſtruction; for, if ever God in his providence touches the conſciences of ſuch, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early inſtruction of parents is not loſt, tho' it may have been many years laid aſleep; but, ſome time or other, they may find the benefit of it.

Thus it was with this poor man, however ignorant he was, or diveſted of religion and chriſtian knowledge. He found he had ſome to do with now more ignorant than himſelf; and that the leaſt part of the inſtruction of his good father, that could now come to his mind, was of uſe to him.

Among the reſt it occurred to him, he ſaid, how his father uſed to inſiſt much upon the inexpreſſible value of the bible; the privilege and bleſſing of it to nations, families, and perſons; but he never entertained the leaſt notion of the worth of it till now; when, being to talk to heathens, ſavages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his aſſiſtance.

The young woman was very glad of it alſo, for the preſent occaſion, though ſhe had one; and ſo had the youth on board our ſhip, among the goods,

which were not yet brought on ſhore. And now, having ſaid ſo many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one ſtory more of her and myſelf, which has ſomething in it very informing and remarkable.

I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced; how her miſtreſs was ſtarved to death, and did die, on board that unhappy ſhip we met at ſea; and how the whole ſhip's company being reduced to the laſt extremity, the gentlewoman, and her ſon, and this maid, were firſt hardly uſed, as to proviſions; and, at laſt, totally neglected and ſtarved; that is to ſay, brought to the laſt extremity of hunger.

One day, being diſcourſing with her upon the extremities they ſuffered, I aſked her, if ſhe could deſcribe, by what ſhe felt, what it was to ſtarve, and how it appeared? She told me, ſhe believed ſhe could; and ſhe told her tale very diſtinctly thus:

Firſt, ſir, ſaid ſhe, we had for ſome days fared exceeding hard, and ſuffered very great hunger; but now, at laſt, we were wholly without food of any kind, except ſugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The firſt day, after I had received no food at all, I found myſelf towards evening, firſt empty and ſickiſh at my ſtomach; and nearer night, mightily inclined to yawning and ſleepy; I laid down on a couch, in the great cabin, to ſleep; and ſlept about three hours, and awaked a little refreſhed, having taken a glaſs of wine when I lay down; after being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myſelf empty, and my ſtomach ſickiſh again, and

laid down again; but could not ſleep at all, being very faint and ill; and thus I continued all the ſecond day, with a ſtrange variety, firſt hungry, then ſick again, with reachings to vomit; the ſecond night, being obliged to go to bed again, without any food more than a draught of fair water, and being aſleep, I dreamed I was at *Barbadoes*, and that the market was mightily ſtocked with proviſions; that I bought ſome for my miſtreſs, and went and dined very heartily.

I thought my ſtomach was as full after this, as it would have been after, or at, a good dinner; but when I awaked, I was exceedingly ſunk in my ſpirits to find myſelf in the extremity of famine: The laſt glaſs of wine we had, I drank, and put ſugar into it, becauſe of its having ſome ſpirit to ſupply nouriſhment; but there being no ſubſtance in the ſtomach for the digeſting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was, to raiſe diſagreeable fumes from the ſtomach into the head; and I lay, as they told me, ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, as one drunk, for ſome time.

The third day in the morning, after a night of ſtrange and confuſed inconſiſtent dreams, and rather dozing than ſleeping, I awaked, ravenous and furious, with hunger; and I queſtion, had not my underſtanding returned, and conquered it; I ſay, I queſtion whether, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been ſafe, or not.

This laſted about three hours; during which time I was twice raging mad, as any creature in *Bedlam*, as my young maſter told me, and as he can now inform you.

In one of theſe fits of lunacy, or diſtraction, whether by the motion of the ſhip, or ſome ſlip of my foot, I know not; I fell down, and ſtruck my face againſt the corner of a pallet-bed, in which my miſtreſs lay; and with the blow, the blood guſhed out of my noſe; and the cabin-boy bringing me a little baſon, I ſat down, and bled into it a great deal; and as the blood ran from me, I came to myſelf; and the violence of the flame, or the fever I was in, abated, and ſo did the ravenous part of the hunger.

Then I grew ſick, and reached to vomit, but could not; for I had nothing in my ſtomach to bring up: After I had bled ſome time, I ſwooned, and they all believed I was dead; but I came to myſelf ſoon after, and then had a moſt dreadful pain in my ſtomach, not to be deſcribed; not like the cholic, but a gnawing eager pain for food; and, towards night, it went off with a kind of earneſt wiſhing or longing for food; ſomething like, as I ſuppoſe, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water, with ſugar in it, but my ſtomach loathed the ſugar, and brought it all up again: Then I took a draught of water without ſugar, and that ſtayed with me; and laid me down upon the bed, praying moſt heartily, that it would pleaſe God to take me away; and compoſing my mind in hopes of it, I ſlumbered a while; and then waking, thought myſelf dying, being light with vapours from an empty ſtomach, I recommended my ſoul to God, and earneſtly wiſhed, that ſomebody would throw me into the ſea.

All this while my miſterſs lay by me, juſt, as I thought, expiring; but bore it with much more pati-

ence than I, and gave the laſt bit of bread ſhe had to her child, my young maſter, who would not have taken it, but ſhe obliged him to eat it; and, I believe, it ſaved his life.

Towards the morning, I ſlept again; and firſt, when I awaked, I fell into a violent paſſion of crying; and after that, had a ſecond fit of violent hunger, ſo that I got up ravenous, and in a moſt dreadful condition: Had my miſtreſs been dead, as much as I loved her, I am certain, I ſhould have eaten a piece of her fleſh with as much reliſh, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the fleſh of any creature appointed for food; and, once or twice, I was going to bite my own arm. At laſt, I ſaw the baſon, in which was the blood I had bled at my noſe the day before; I ran to it, and ſwallowed it with ſuch haſte, and ſuch a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it ſhould be taken from me now.

Though after it was down, the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger; and I drank a draught of fair water, and was compoſed and refreſhed for ſome hours after it. This was the fourth day, and thus I held it till towards night, when within the compaſs of three hours, I had all theſe ſeveral circumſtances over again, one after another; *viz.* ſick, ſleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the ſtomach, then ravenous again, then ſick again, then lunatic, then crying, then ravenous again, and ſo every quarter of an hour; and my ſtrength waſted exceedingly. At night I laid me down having no comfort, but in the hope that I ſhould die before morning.

All this night I had no ſleep, but the hunger was

now turned into a diſeaſe: and I had a terrible cholic and griping; wind, inſtead of food, having found its way into the bowels; and in this condition I lay till morning, when I was ſurpriſed a little with the cries and lamtenations of my young maſter, who called out to me, that his mother was dead I lifted myſelf up a little, for I had not ſtrength to riſe, but found ſhe was not dead, tho' ſhe was able to give very little ſigns of life.

I had then ſuch convulſions in my ſtomach, for want of ſome ſuſtenance, that I cannot deſcribe them; with ſuch frequent throes and pangs of appetite, that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate: And this condition I was in, when I heard the ſeamen above cry out, a ſail, a ſail, and halloo and jump about as if they were diſtracted.

I was not able to get off from the bed, and my miſtreſs much leſs; and my maſter was ſo ſick, that I thought he had been expiring; ſo we could not open the cabin door, or get any account what it was that occaſioned ſuch a combuſtion; nor had we any converſation with the ſhip's company for two days, they having told us they had not a mouthful of any thing to eat in the ſhip: And they told us afterwards, they thought we had been dead.

It was this dreadful condition we were in, when you were ſent to ſave our lives: And how you found us, ſir, you know as well as I, and better too.

This was her own relation, and is ſuch a diſtinct account of ſtarving to death, as, I confeſs, I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me: I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, becauſe the youth gave me an account of a good part of it;

though I muſt own, not ſo diſtinct, and ſo feelingly, as his maid; and the rather, becauſe, it ſeems, his mother fed him at the price of her own life: But the poor maid, though her conſtitution being ſtronger than that of her miſtreſs, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, ſhe might ſtruggle harder with it; I ſay, the poor maid might be ſuppoſed to feel the extremity ſomething ſooner than her miſtreſs, who might be allowed to keep the laſt bits ſomething longer than ſhe parted with any to relieve the maid. No queſtion, as the caſe is here related, if our ſhip, or ſome other, had not ſo providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unleſs they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their caſe ſtood, would have ſerved them but a little while, they being 500 leagues from any land; or any poſſibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened: But this is by the way. I return to my diſpoſition of things among the people.

And firſt, it is to obſerved here, that, for many reaſons, I did not think fit to let them know any thing of the ſloop I had framed, and which I thought of ſetting up among them; for I found, at leaſt at my firſt coming, ſuch ſeeds of diviſion among them, that I ſaw it plainly, had I ſet up the ſloop, and left it among them, they would, upon very light diſguſt, have ſeparated, and gone away from one another; or perhaps, have turned pirates, and ſo made the iſland a den of thieves, inſtead of a plantation of ſober and religious people, as I intended it to be; nor did I leave the two pieces of braſs cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns, that my nephew took extraordina-

ry, for the ſame reaſon: I thought they had enough to qualify them for a defenſive war againſt any that ſhould invade them; but I was not to ſet them up for an offenſive war, or to encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which, in the end, would only bring ruin and deſtruction upon themſelves, and all their undertakings: I reſerved the ſloop therefore, and the guns, for their ſervice another way, as I ſhall obſerve it its place.

I have now done with the iſland: I left them all in good circumſtances, and in a flouriſhing condition, and went on board my ſhip again the fifth day of *May*, having been five-and-twenty days among them; and, as they were all reſolved to ſtay upon the iſland till I came to remove them, I promiſed to ſend ſome further relief from the *Braſils*, if I could find an opportunity; and particularly, I promiſed to ſend them ſome cattle; ſuch as ſheep, hogs, and cows: For, as to the two cows and calves, which I brought from *England*, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at ſea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a ſalute of five guns at parting, we ſet ſail, and arrived at the bay of *All-Saints*, in the *Braſils*, in about 22 days; meeting nothing remarkable in our paſſage, but this, that about three days after we ſailed, being becalmed, and the current ſetting ſtrong to the E. N. E. running, as it were, into a bay or gulph, on the land-ſide, we were driven ſomething out of our courſe; and once or twice our men cried, *land, to the weſtward*; but whether it was the continent or iſlands, we could not tell by any means.

But the third day, towards evening, the ſea ſmooth, and the weather calm, we ſaw the ſea, as it were, covered, towards the land, with ſomething very black, not being able to diſcover what it was; but after ſome time, our chief mate going up the main ſhrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perſpective, cried out, it was *an army*. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and ſpoke a little haſtily, calling the fellow a fool, or ſome ſuch word: Nay, ſir, ſays he, don't be angry, for it is an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thouſand canoes, and you may ſee them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too apace, and full of men.

I was a little ſurpriſed then, indeed, and ſo was my nephew the captain; for he had heard ſuch terrible ſtories of them in the iſland; and having never been in thoſe ſeas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but ſaid two or three times, we ſhould all be devoured. I muſt confeſs, conſidering we were becalmed, and the current ſet ſtrong towards the ſhore, I liked it the worſe: However, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ſhip to an anchor, as ſoon as we came ſo near as to know, that we muſt engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; ſo I gave orders to come to an anchor, and furl all our ſails. As for the ſavages, I told him, they had nothing to fear from them but fire; and therefore they ſhould get their boats out, and faſten them, one cloſe by the head, and the other, by the ſtern, and man them both well, and wait the iſſue in that poſture: This I did, that the men in the boats

might be ready, with ſheets and buckets, to put out any fire theſe ſavages might endeavour to fix upon the outſide of the ſhip.

In this poſture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us; but never was ſuch a horrid ſight ſeen by chriſtians: My mate was much miſtaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thouſand canoes; the moſt we could make of them when they came up, being about 126; and a great many of them too; for ſome of them had ſixteen or ſeventeen men in them, ſome more, and the leaſt ſix or ſeven.

When they came nearer to us, they ſeemed to be ſtruck with wonder and aſtoniſhment, as at a ſight which they had, doubtleſs, never ſeen before, nor could they, at firſt, as we afterwards underſtood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up however, very near to us, and ſeemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our deſigning it; for five or ſix of their large canoes came ſo near our longboat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep back; which they underſtood very well, and went back; but at their retreat about 500 arrows came on board us from thoſe boats; and one of our men in the longboat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down ſome deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter preſently ſet up a kind of a fence,

like waſte-boards, to cover them from the arrows of the ſavages, if they ſhould ſhoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body aſtern of us, and pretty near, ſo near that we could eaſily diſcern what they were, though we could not tell their deſign. I eaſily found they were ſome of my old friends, the ſame ſort of ſavages that I had been uſed to engage with; and in a little time more they rowed ſomewhat farther out to ſea, till they came directly broadſide with us, and then rowed down ſtrait upon us, till they came ſo near, that they could hear us ſpeak: Upon this I ordered all my men to keep cloſe, leſt they ſhould ſhoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready; but, being ſo near as to be within hearing, I made *Friday* go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he did: Whether they underſtood him or not, that I knew not; but, as ſoon as he had called to them, ſix of them, who were in the foremoſt, or nigheſt boat to us, turned their canoes from us; and, ſtooping down, ſhewed us their naked backſides; juſt as if, in *Engliſh* (ſaving your preſence) they had bid us *kiſs*---------; whether this was a defiance or challenge, we know not; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or ſignal to the reſt; but immediately *Friday* cried out, they were going to ſhoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow) they let fly about 300 of their arrows; and, to my inexpreſſible grief, killed poor *Friday*, no other man being in their ſight. The poor fellow was ſhot with no leſs than three arrows, and about three more

fell very nigh him; ſuch unlucky markſmem they were.

I was ſo enraged with the loſs of my old ſervant, the companion of all my ſorrows and ſolitudes that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with ſmall ſhot, and four with great; and gave them ſuch a broadſide as they had never heard in their lives before, to be ſure.

They were not above half a cable's length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim ſo well, that three or four of their canoes were overſet, as we had reaſon to believe, by one ſhot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backſides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain, whether that, which would paſs for the greateſt contempt among us, might be underſtood ſo by them, or not; therefore in return, I had only reſolved to have fired four or five guns with powder only, which I knew would fright them ſufficiently: But when they ſhot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and eſpecially as they had killed my poor *Friday*, whom I ſo intirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, ſo well deſerved it; I not only had been juſtified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have overſet every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadſide; but ſure ſuch a fright and hurry, never was ſeen among ſuch a multitude; there were 13 or 14 of their canoes ſplit and overſet, in all; and the men all ſet a ſwimming; the reſt, frighted out of their wits, ſcourd away as faſt as they

could; taking but little care to ſave thoſe whoſe boats were ſplit or ſpoiled with our ſhot: So I ſuppoſe, that they were, many of them, loſt; and our men took up one poor fellow ſwimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our ſmall ſhot, from our cannon, muſt needs kill and wound a great many: But, in ſhort, we never knew any thing how it went with them; for they fled ſo faſt, that, in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not ſee above three or four ſtraggling canoes; nor did we ever ſee the reſt any more; for a breeze of wind ſpringing up the ſame evening, we weighed, and ſet ſail for the *Braſils*.

We had a priſoner indeed, but the creature was ſo ſullen, that he would neither eat nor ſpeak; and we all fancied he would ſtarve himſelf to death: But I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him, and turn him into the longboat, and make him believe they would toſs him into the ſea again, and ſo leave him where they found him, if he would not ſpeak; nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the ſea, and came away from him; and then he followed them, for he ſwam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, tho' they knew not one word of what he ſaid. However, at laſt they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever deſign they ſhould drown him.

We were now under ſail again; but I was the moſt diſconſolate creature alive, for want of my man *Friday*, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the iſland, to have taken one of the reſt from thence for my occaſion, but it could not be; ſo we went on:

We had one priſoner, as I have ſaid; and it was a long while before we could make him underſtand any thing; but, in time, our men taught him ſome *Engliſh*, and he began to be a little tractable: Afterwards we enquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he ſaid; for his ſpeech was ſo odd, all guttu-rals, and ſpoken in the throat, in ſuch an hollow and odd manner, that we could never form a word from him; and we were all of opinion, that they might ſpeak that language as well, if they were gagged, as otherwiſe; nor could we perceive that they had any occaſion, either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate; but formed their words, juſt as a hunting horn forms a tune, with an open throat: He told us however, ſome time after, when we had taught him to ſpeak a little *Engliſh*, that they were going, with their kings, to fight a great battle. When he ſaid kings, we aſked him how many kings? He ſaid, there were *five nation* (we could not make him underſtand the plural S,) and that they all joined to go againſt *two nation*. We aſked him, what made them come up to us? He ſaid, *to makee te great wonder look*: Where it is to be ob-ſerved, that all thoſe natives, as alſo thoſe of *Africa*, when they learn *Engliſh*, they always add two e's at the end of the words where we uſe one, and place the accent upon the laſt of them; as *makee*, *takee*, and the like; and we could not break them of it; nay, I could hardly make *Friday* leave it off, though at laſt he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I muſt take my laſt leave of him; poor honeſt *Friday!* We buried him with all decency and ſolemnity poſſi-

ble, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the ſea; and I cauſed them to fire eleven guns for him; and ſo ended the life of the moſt grateful, faithful, honeſt, and moſt affectionate ſervant that ever man had.

We now went away with a fair wind for *Braſil*, and, in about twelve days time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees ſouth of the line, being the north-eaſtermoſt land of all that part of *America*. We kept on S. by E. in ſight of the ſhore, four days, when we made the cape *St. Auguſtine*, and in three days came to an anchor off the bay of *All-Saints*, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never ſhip came to this part, that had leſs buſineſs than I had; and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the leaſt correſpondence on ſhore: Not my partner himſelf, who was alive, and made a great figure among them; not my two merchant truſtees, nor the fame of my wonderful preſervation in the iſland, could obtain me that favour: But my partner, remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monaſtery of the *Auguſtines*, and three hundred and ſeventy-two to the poor, went to the monaſtery, and obliged the prior that then was, to go to the governor, and beg leave for me preſently, with the captain, and one more, beſides eight ſeamen, to come on ſhore, and no more; and this upon condition abſolutely capitulated for, that we ſhould not offer to land any goods out of the ſhip, or to carry any perſon away without licence.

They were ſo ſtrict with us, as to landing any goods,

that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on ſhore three bales of *Engliſh* goods, ſuch as fine broadcloths, ſtuffs, and ſome linen, which I had brought for a preſent to my partner.

He was a very generous broad-hearted man, though (like me) he came from little at firſt; and though he knew not that I had the leaſt deſign of giving him any thing, he ſent me on board a preſent of freſh proviſions, wine, and ſweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including ſome tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold. But I was even with him in my preſent, which, as I have ſaid, conſiſted of fine broadcloth, *Engliſh* ſtuffs, lace, and fine hollands. Alſo I delivered him about the value of 100*l.* ſterling, in the ſame goods, for other uſes; and I obliged him to ſet up the ſloop which I had brought with me from *England*, as I have ſaid, for the uſe of my colony, in order to ſend the refreſhments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly he got hands, and finiſhed the ſloop in a very few days, for ſhe was already framed, and I gave the maſter of her ſuch inſtructions as he could not miſs the place; nor did he miſs it, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him ſoon loaded with the ſmall cargo I had ſent them; and one of our ſeamen, that had been on ſhore with me there, offered to go with the ſloop, and ſettle there, upon my letter to the governor *Spaniard*, to allot him a ſufficient quantity of land for a plantation; and giving him ſome cloaths, and tools for his planting-work, which, he ſaid, he underſtood, having been an old planter in *Maryland*, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow by granting all he desired; and, as an addition, I gave him the savage which we had taken prisoner of war, to be his slave, and ordered the governor *Spaniard* to give him his share of every thing he wanted with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me, there was a certain very honest fellow, a *Brasil* planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the church; I know not what the matter is with him, says he; but, on my conscience, I think he is an heretic in his heart; and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the inquision; that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape, with his wife, and two daughters; and if I would let them go to the island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers of the inquision had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves. And, adds he, though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands; for he will assuredly be burnt alive, if he does.

I granted this presently, and joined my *Englishman* with them; and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters, on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea; and then (having put all their goods on board the sloop some time before) we put them on board the sloop, after she was got out of the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner; and their stock, indeed, was much alike rich in tools, in preparations, and a farm; but nothing to

begin with, but as above. However, they carried over with them (which was worth all the reſt) ſome materials for planting ſugar-canes, with ſome plants of canes; which he, I mean the *Portugal* man, underſtood very well.

Among the reſt of the ſupplies ſent my tenants in the iſland, I ſent them, by this ſloop, three milch cows, and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three ſows big with pigs, two mares and a ſtone-horſe.

For my *Spaniards*, according to my promiſe, I engaged three *Portugal* women to go; and recommended it to them to marry them, and uſe them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered, that the poor perſecuted man had two daughters, and there were but five of the *Spaniards* that wanted; the reſt had wives of their own, tho' in another country.

All this cargo arrived ſafe, and, as you may eaſily ſuppoſe, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now (with this addition) between ſixty and ſeventy people, beſides little children; of which there were a great many: I found letters at *London* from them, all by way of *Lisbon*, when I came back to *England*, being ſent back to the *Braſils* by this ſloop; of which I ſhall take ſome notice in its place.

I have now done with my iſland, and all manner of diſcourſe about it; and whoever reads the reſt of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts intirely from it, and expect to read only of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much leſs by thoſe of other men, to beware of the like; not

cooled by almoſt forty years miſery and diſappointments; not ſatisfied with proſperity beyond expectation; not made cautious by affliction and diſtreſs beyond imitation.

I had no more buſineſs to go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turnkey at *Newgate*, and deſire him to lock him up among the priſoners there, and ſtarve him. Had I taken a ſmall veſſel from *England* and went directly to the iſland; had I loaded her, as I did the other veſſel, with all the neceſſaries for the plantation, and for my people, took a patent from the government here, to have ſecured my property, in ſubjection only to that of *England*, which, to be ſure, I might have obtained; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, ſervants, and people to plant, and, taking poſſeſſion of the place, fortified and ſtrengthened it in the name of *England*, and increaſed it with people, as I might eaſily have done; had I then ſettled myſelf there, and ſent the ſhip back, loaden with good rice, as I might alſo have done in ſix months time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our ſupply; had I done this, and ſtayed there myſelf, I had, at leaſt, acted like a man of common ſenſe; but I was poſſeſſed with a wandering ſpirit, ſcorned all advantages, pleaſed myſelf with being the patron of theſe people I had placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majeſtic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation: But I never ſo much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any

prince, or to call my people ſubjects to any one nation more than another: Nay, I never ſo much as gave the place a name; but left it as I found it, belonging to no man; and the people under no diſcipline or government but my own, who, though I had an influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary conſent moved them to comply; yet even this, had I ſtayed there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came thither no more, the laſt letters I had from any of them, were by my partner's means, who afterwards ſent another ſloop to the place; and who ſent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malecontent with their long ſtay there; that *Will Atkins* was dead; that five of the *Spaniards* were come away; and that though they had not been much moleſted by the ſavages, yet they had had ſome ſkirmiſhes with them; that they begged of him to write to me, to think of the promiſe I had made to fetch them away, that they might ſee their own country again, before they died.

But I was gone a wild gooſe chace indeed; and they who will have any more of me, muſt be content to follow me through a new variety of follies, hardſhips, and wild adventures; wherein the juſtice of providence may be duly obſerved, and we may ſee how eaſily heaven can gorge us with our own deſires, make the ſtrongeſt of our wiſhes to be our affliction, and puniſh us moſt ſeverely with thoſe very things which we think it would be our utmoſt happineſs to be allowed in.

Let no wiſe man flatter himſelf with the ſtrength of his own judgment, as if he was able to chuſe any particular ſtation of life for himſelf. Man is a ſhort-ſighted creature, ſees but a very little way before him; and as his paſſions are none of his beſt friends, ſo his particular affections are generally his worſt counſellors.

I ſay this, with reſpect to the impetuous deſire I had from a youth, to wander into the world; and how evident in now was, that this principle was preſerved in me for my puniſhment. How it came on, the manner, the circumſtance, and the concluſion of it, it is eaſy to give you hiſtorically, and with its utmoſt variety of particulars. But the ſecret ends of divine providence, in thus permitting us to be hurried down the ſtream of our own deſires, are only to be underſtood of thoſe, who can liſten to the voice of providence, and draw religious conſequences from God's juſtice, and their own miſtakes.

Be it, had I buſineſs, or no buſineſs, away I went; 'tis no time now to enlarge any farther upon the reaſon or abſurdity of my own conduct; but to come to the hiſtory, I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I ſhould only add here, that my honeſt and truly pious clergyman left me here; a ſhip being ready to go to *Lisbon*, he aſked me leave to go thither; being ſtill, as he obſerved, bound never to finiſh any voyage he began; how happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him.

But it was too late now; all things heaven appoints are beſt; had I gone with him, I had never had ſo

many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the ſecond part of the travels and adventures of *Robinſon Cruſoe*; ſo I muſt leave here the fruitleſs exclaiming at myſelf, and go on with my voyage.

From the *Braſils* we made directly away over the *Atlantic ſea*, to the *Cape de bonne Eſperance*, or, as we call it, the *Cape of Good Hope*; and had a tolerable good voyage, our courſe generally ſouth-eaſt; now-and-then a ſtorm, and ſome contrary winds. But my diſaſters at ſea were at an end; my future rubs and croſs events were to befal me on ſhore, that it might appear, the land was as well prepared to be our ſcourge, as the ſea; when heaven, who directs the circumſtances of things, pleaſes to appoint it to be ſo.

Our ſhip was on a trading voyage, and had a ſupercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions, after ſhe arrived at the *Cape*; only being limited to certain number of days, for ſtay, by charter-party, at the ſeveral ports ſhe was to go to: This was none of my buſineſs, neither did I meddle with it at all; my nephew the captain, and the ſupercargo, adjuſting all thoſe things between them, as they thought fit.

We made no ſtay at the *Cape* longer than was needful to take in freſh water; but made the beſt of our way for the coaſt of *Coromandel*; we were indeed informed, that a *French* man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ſhips, were gone for the *Indies*; and, as I knew we were at war with *France*, I had ſome apprehenſions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I ſhall not peſter my account, or the reader, with deſcriptions of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compaſs, latitudes, meridian diſtances, trade-winds, ſituation of ports, and the like; ſuch as almoſt all the hiſtories of long navigation are full of, and which make the reading tireſome enough; and are perfectly unprofitable to all that read, except only to thoſe who are to go to thoſe places themſelves.

It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at; and what occurred to us upon our paſſing from one to another. We touched firſt at the iſland of *Madagaſcar*: where tho' the people are fierce and treacherous, and in particular very well armed with lances and bows, which they uſe with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them a while; they treated us very civilly; and, for ſome trifles which we gave them, ſuch as knives, ſciſſars, *&c.* they brought us 11 good fat bullocks, middling in ſize, but very good in fleſh; which we took in, partly for freſh proviſions for our preſent ſpending, and the reſt to ſalt for the ſhip's uſe.

We were obliged to ſtay here for ſome time, after we had furniſhed ourſelves with proviſions; and I, that was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on ſhore as often as I could. It was on the eaſt ſide of the iſland that we went on ſhore one evening; and the people, who, by the way, are very numerous, came thronging about us, and ſtood gazing at us, at a diſtance: As we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly uſed, we thought ourſelves in no danger; but when we

ſaw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and ſtuck them up at a diſtance from us, which, it ſeems, is a mark in the country, not only of truce and friendſhip, but, when it is accepted, the other ſide ſet up three poles, or boughs, alſo; which is a ſignal, that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to paſs beyond their three poles towards them, nor they come paſt your three poles, or boughs toward you; ſo that you are perfectly ſecure within the three poles, and all the ſpace between your poles and theirs, is allowed like a market, for free converſe, traffick, and commerce. When you go thither, you muſt not carry your weapons with you, and if they come into that ſpace, they ſtick up their javelins and lances, all at the firſt poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened, one evening, when we went on ſhore, that a greater number of their people came down than uſual; but was all very friendly and civil. They brought with them ſeveral kinds of proviſions, for which we ſatisfied them, with ſuch toys as we had; their women alſo brought us milk and roots, and ſeveral things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of ſome boughs of trees, and lay on ſhore all that night.

I know not what was the occaſion, but I was not ſo well ſatisfied to lie on ſhore as the reſt; and the boat lying at an anchor, about a ſtone's caſt from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made

one of them come on ſhore; and getting ſome boughs of trees to cover us alſo in the boat, I ſpread the ſail on the bottom of the boat and lay on board, under the cover of the branches of the trees, all night.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noiſe on the ſhore, calling out, for God's ſake, to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the ſame time I heard the firing of five muſquets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over; for, it ſeems, the natives here were not ſo eaſily frighted with guns, as the ſavages were in *America*, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter; but rouſing immediately from ſleep with the noiſe, I cauſed the boat to be thruſt in, and reſolved, with three fuſils we had on board, to land, and aſſiſt our men.

We got the boat ſoon to the ſhore; but our men were in too much haſte: For, being come to the ſhore, they plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being purſued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fuſils with them; the reſt, indeed, had piſtols and ſwords, but they were of ſmall uſe to them.

We took up ſeven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was ſtill worſe, was, that while we ſtood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as

much danger as they were in on ſhore; for they pour-ed their arrows in upon us ſo thick, that we were fain to barricade the ſide of the boat up with the benches, and two or three looſe boards; which, to our great ſatisfaction, we had, by mere accident, or providence rather, in the boat.

And yet, had it been day-light, they are, it ſeems, ſuch exact markſmen, that if they could have ſeen but the leaſt part of any of us, they would have been ſure of us; we had, by the light of the moon, a little ſight of them, as they ſtood pelting us from the ſhore with darts and arrows; and, having got ready our fire arms, we gave them a volley; and we could hear by the cries of ſome of them, that we had wounded ſeveral; however, they ſtood thus in battle-array on the ſhore till break of day, which we ſuppoſe was, that they might ſee the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or ſet up our ſail, becauſe we muſt needs ſtand up in the boat, and they were as ſure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with ſmall ſhot; we made ſignals of diſtreſs to the ſhip which, tho' ſhe rode a league off, yet my nephew the captain, hearing our firing, and, by glaſſes, perceiving the poſture we lay in, and that we fired towards the ſhore, pretty well underſtood us; and, weighing anchor with all ſpeed, he ſtood as near the ſhore as he durſt with the ſhip, and then ſent another boat, with ten hands in her, to aſſiſt us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in: However, they ſtood in nearer to us; and

one of the men, taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, ſo that they could not perfectly ſee him, ſwam on board us, and made the line faſt to the boat; upon which we ſlipt our little cable, and, leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows, we all the while lying cloſe behind the barricado we had made.

As ſoon as we were got from between the ſhip and the ſhore, that ſhe could lay her ſide to the ſhore, we ran along juſt by them, and we poured in a broadſide among them, loaded with pieces of iron and lead, ſmall bullets, and ſuch ſtuff, beſides the great ſhot, which made a terrible havock among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occaſion of this fray; and, indeed our ſupercargo, who had been often in thoſe parts, put me upon it; for he ſaid, he was very ſure the inhabitants would not have touched us, after we had made a truce, if we had not done ſomething to provoke them to it: At length it came out, *viz.* that an old woman, who had come to ſell us ſome milk, had brought it within our poles, with a young woman with her, who alſo brought ſome roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether ſhe was mother to the young women, or no, they could not tell) was ſelling us the milk, one of our men offered ſome rudeneſs to the wench that was with her; at which the old woman made a great noiſe. However, the ſeaman would not quite his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's ſight, among the trees, it being almoſt dark; the old woman went away without her, and, as

we ſuppoſe, made an outcry among the people ſhe came from; who, upon notice, raiſed this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had been all deſtroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him, juſt at the beginning of the attack, as he ſallied out of the tent we had made; the reſt came off free, all but the fellow who was the occaſion of all the miſchief, who paid dear enough for his black miſtreſs, for we could not hear what became of him a great while; we lay upon the ſhore two days after, though the wind preſented, and made ſignals for him; made our boat ſail up-ſhore and down-ſhore, ſeveral leagues, but in vain; ſo we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had ſuffered for it, the loſs had been the leſs.

I could not ſatisfy myſelf, however, without venturing on ſhore once more, to try if I could learn any thing of him or them; it was the third night after the action, that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what miſchief we had done, and how the game ſtood on the *Indian* ſide. I was careful to do it in the dark, leſt we ſhould be attacked again; but ought indeed, to have been ſure, that the men I went with, had been under my command, before I engaged in a thing ſo hazardous and miſchievous, as I was brought into it without my knowledge or deſire.

We took twenty ſtout fellows with us as any in the ſhip, beſides the *Supercargo* and myſelf; and we landed two hours before midnight at the ſame place where the *Indians* ſtood drawn up the evening before; I

landed here, becauſe my deſign, as I have ſaid, was chiefly to ſee if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them, or of the miſchief we had done them; and I thought, if we could ſurpriſe one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of exchange.

We landed without any noiſe, and divided our men into two companies, whereof the boatſwain commanded one, and I the other: We neither could hear nor ſee any body ſtir, when we landed; ſo we marched up, one body at a diſtance from the other, to the field of battle: At firſt we could ſee nothing, it being very dark; but by and by, our boatſwain, that led the firſt party, ſtumbled and fell over a dead body: This made them halt there a while; for, knowing by the circumſtances, that they were at the place where the *Indians* had ſtood, they waited for my coming up: Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to riſe, which we knew would be in leſs than an hour; and then we could eaſily diſcern the havock we had made among them: We told two and thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Some had an arm, and ſome a leg, ſhot off; and one, his head: Thoſe that were wounded, we ſuppoſed they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full diſcovery of all we could come at the knowledge of, I was for going on board again; but the boatſwain and his party often ſent me word, that they were reſolved to make a viſit to the *Indian* town, where theſe dogs, as they called them, dwelt; and deſired me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as they ſtill

fancied they ſhould, they did not doubt, they ſaid, getting a good booty; and it might be, they might find *Thomas Jeffrys* there; that was the man's name we had loſt.

Had they ſent to aſk my leave to go, I knew well enough what anſwer to have given them; for I would have commanded them inſtantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ſhip, and a ſhip's loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they ſent me word they were reſolved to go, and only aſked me and my company to go along with them, I poſitively refuſed it, and roſe up (for I was ſitting on the ground) in order to go to the boat; one or two of the men began to importune me to go; and, when I ſtill refuſed poſitively, began to grumble, and ſay they were not under my command, and they would go: Come, *Jack*, ſays one of the men, will you go with me? I will go for one. *Jack* ſaid he would; and another followed, and then another; and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom, with much difficulty too, I perſuaded to ſtay; ſo the *Supercargo* and I, with one man went back to the boat, where, I told them, we would ſtay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as ſhould be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and ſuppoſed moſt of them would run the fate of *Thomas Jeffrys*.

They told me, like ſeamen, they'd warrant it they would come off again; and they would take care *&c.* So away they went. I intreated them to conſider the ſhip, and the voyage; that their lives were not their

own; and that they were intruſted with the voyage, in ſome meaſure; that if they miſcarried, the ſhip might be loſt for want of their help; and that they could not anſwer it to God or man. I ſaid a great deal more to them on that head, but I might as well have talked to the main-maſt of the ſhip; they were mad upon their journey; only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; ſaid, they would be very cautious, and they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour at fartheſt; for the *Indian* town, they ſaid, was not above half a mile off: though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away, as above; and though the attempt was deſperate, and ſuch, as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it warily, as well as boldly. They were gallantly armed, that is true; for they had every man a fuſil or muſquet, a bayonet, and every man a piſtol; ſome of them had broad cutlaces, ſome of them hangers; and the boatſwain, and two more, had pole-axes: Beſides all which they had among them thirteen hand-grenados. Bolder follows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief deſign was plunder; and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumſtance which none of them were aware of, ſet them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all: When they came to the few *Indian* houſes, which they thought had been the town, which were not above half a mile off, they were under a

great diſappointment; for there were not above twelve or thirteen houſes; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not: They conſulted therefore what to do, and were ſome time before they could reſolve; for if they fell upon theſe, they muſt cut all their throats; and it was ten to one but ſome of them might eſcape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one eſcaped, he would run away, and raiſe all the town, ſo they ſhould have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left thoſe untouched (for the people were all aſleep) they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the laſt was the beſt advice; ſo they reſolved to leave thoſe houſes, and look for the town as well as they could: They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree: This they preſently concluded would be a good guide to them; for they ſaid, the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them; and if they untied her, they ſhould ſee which way ſhe went; if ſhe went back, they had nothing to ſay to her; but, if ſhe went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her; ſo they cut the cord, which was made of twiſted flags, and the cow went on before them: In a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they reported, conſiſted of above 200 houſes, or huts; and in ſome of theſe, they found ſeveral families living together.

Here they found all ſilent; as profoundly ſecure, as ſleep and a country that had never ſeen an enemy of that kind, could make them: Upon this they called

another council, to conſider what they had to do; and, in a word, they reſolved to divide themſelves into three bodies and to ſet three houſes on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to ſeize them and bind them if any reſiſted, they need not be aſked what to do then; and ſo to ſearch the reſt of the houſes for plunder; but reſolved to march ſilently firſt through the town, and ſee what dimenſions it was of, and conſider if they might venture upon it, or no.

They did ſo, and deſperately reſolved that they would venture upon them; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them, that were a little before the reſt, called out aloud, and told them they had found *Tho. Jeffrys*; they all ran up to the place, and ſo it was indeed, for there they found the poor fellow hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut: There was an *Indian* houſe juſt by the tree, where they found ſixteen or ſeventeen of the principal *Indians*, who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our ſhot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that houſe, but knew not their number.

The ſight of their poor mangled comrade ſo enraged them, as before, that they ſwore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an *Indian* who came into their hands ſhould have quarter; and to work they went immediately; and yet not ſo madly as by the rage and fury they were in, might be expected. Their firſt care was to get ſomething that would ſoon take fire; but after a little ſearch, they found that

would be to no purpoſe, for moſt of the houſes were low, and thatched with flags or ruſhes, of which the country is full; ſo they preſently made ſome wildfire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands; and, in a quarter of an hour, they ſet the town on fire in four or five places; and particularly that houſe, where the *Indians* were not gone to bed. As ſoon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frighted creatures began to ruſh out to ſave their lives; but met with their fate in the attempt, and eſpecially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatſwain himſelf killed one or two with his pole-ax; the houſe being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for an hand grenado, and threw it among them, which, at firſt, frighted them; but when it burſt, made ſuch havock among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In ſhort, moſt of the *Indians* who were in the open part of the houſe, were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three more, who preſſed to the door, which the boatſwain and two more kept with their bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, and diſpatched all who came that way. But there was another apartment in the houſe, where the prince or king, or whatſoever he was, and ſeveral others, were; and they kept in, till the houſe, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and were ſmothered, or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, becauſe they would not waken the people faſter than they could maſter them; but the fire began to waken them faſt enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little to-

gether in bodies; for the fire grew ſo raging, all the houſes being made of light combuſtible ſtuff, that they could hardly bear the ſtreet between them; and their buſineſs was to follow the fire for the ſurer execution: As faſt as the fire either forced the people out of thoſe houſes which were burning, or frighted them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, ſtill calling and hallooing to one another to remember *Tho. Jeffrys*.

While this was doing, I muſt confeſs, I was very uneaſy, and eſpecially when I ſaw the flames of the town, which, it being night, ſeemed to be juſt by me.

My nephew the captain, who was rouſed by his men too, ſeeing ſuch a fire, was very uneaſy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in; eſpecially hearing the guns too; for by this time they began to uſe their fire arms: A thouſand thoughts oppreſſed his mind concerning me and the *Supercargo*, what ſhould become of us: And at laſt, though he could ill ſpare any more men, yet, not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himſelf, comes on ſhore to me.

He was ſurpriſed to ſee me and the *Supercargo* in the boat, with no more than two men, for one had been left to keep the boat; and though he was glad, that we were well, yet he was in the ſame impatience with us, to know what was doing; for the noiſe continued, and the flame increaſed: I confeſs, it was next to an impoſſibility for any men in the world to reſtrain their curioſity of knowing what had happened, or their

concern for the ſafety of the men. In a word, the captain told me, he would go and help his men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the ſafety of the ſhip, and the danger of the voyage, the intereſt of the owners and merchants, *&c* and told him, I would go, and the two men, and only ſee if we could, at a diſtance, learn what was like to be the event, and come back, and tell him.

It was all one to talk to my nephew, as it was to talk to the reſt before; he would go, he ſaid, and he only wiſhed he had left but ten men in the ſhip; for he could not think of having his men loſt for want of help: He had rather, he ſaid, loſe the ſhip, the voyage, and his life, and all; and ſo away went he.

Nor was I any more able to ſtay behind now, than I was to perſuade them not to go before; ſo, in ſhort, the captain ordered two men, to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more from the ſhip, leaving the long boat at an anchor; and that when they came back, ſix men ſhould keep the two boats, and ſix more come after us; ſo that he left only ſixteen men in the ſhip: for the whole ſhip's company conſiſted of 65 men, whereof two were loſt in the firſt quarrel, which brought this miſchief on.

Being now on the march, you may be ſure we felt little of the ground we trod on; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noiſe of the guns were ſurpriſing to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with

horror. I muſt confeſs, I never was at the ſacking of a city, or at the taking of a town by ſtorm; I have heard of *Oliver Cromwell* taking *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, and killing man, woman, and child; and I had read of count *Tilly* ſacking of the city of *Magdeburg*, and cutting the throats of 22,000 of both ſexes; but I never had an idea of the thing itſelf before; nor is it poſſible to deſcribe it, or the horror which was upon our minds at hearing it.

However, we went on, and, at length, came to the town, though there was no entering the ſtreets of it for the fire. The firſt object we met with, was the ruins of a hut or houſe, or rather the aſhes of it, for the houſe was conſumed; and juſt before it, plain now to be ſeen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. In ſhort, theſe were ſuch inſtances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury ſomething beyond what was human, that we thought it impoſſible our men could be guilty of it; or, if they were the authors of it, we thought that every one of them ought to be put to the worſt of death: But this was not all; we ſaw the fire increaſe forward, and the cry went on juſt as the fire went on, ſo that we were in the utmoſt confuſion. We advanced a little way farther; and beheld, to our aſtoniſhment, three women naked, crying in a moſt dreadful manner, and flying as if they had, indeed, had wings, and after them ſixteen or ſeventeen men, natives, in the ſame terror and conſternation, with three of our *Engliſh* butchers (for I can call them no better) in the rear; who, when they could not overtake them,

fired in among them, and one that was killed by their ſhot fell down in our ſight; when the reſt ſaw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them, as well as thoſe that purſued them, they ſet up a moſt dreadful ſhriek, eſpecially the women; and two of them fell down as if already dead with the fright.

My very ſoul ſhrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I ſaw this; and I believe, had the three *Engliſh* ſailors, that purſued them, come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took ſome ways to let the poor flying creatures know, that we would not hurt them; and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentation to us to ſave them, which we let them know we would do; whereupon they kept all together in a huddle, cloſe behind us, for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charged them to hurt nobody, but, if poſſible, to get at ſome of our people, and ſee what devil it was poſſeſſed them, and what they intended to do; and, in a word, to command them off; aſſuring them, that if they ſtayed till day-light, they would have a hundred thouſand men about their ears: I ſay, I left them, and went among thoſe flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was, indeed, a piteous ſpectacle among them: Some of them had their feet terribly burn with trampling and running through the fire; others their hands burnt; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was almoſt burnt to death before ſhe could get out again; two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from

our men purſuing; and another was ſhot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learned what the occaſion of all this was, but I could not underſtand one word they ſaid; though by ſigns I perceived, that ſome of them knew not what was the occaſion themſelves. I was ſo terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not ſtay there, but went back to my own men; I told them my reſolution, and commanded them to follow me, when in the very moment, came four of our men, with the boatſwain at their head, running over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and duſt, as if they wanted more people to maſſacre; when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo; and, with much ado, one of them made them hear; ſo that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As ſoon as the boatſwain, ſaw us, he ſet up a halloo like a ſhout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without bearing to hear me, captain, ſays he, noble captain, I am glad you are come; we have not half done yet; villains; hell hound dogs! I will kill as many of them as poor *Tom* has hairs upon his head. We have ſworn to ſpare none of them; we will root out the very nation of them from the earth; and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action; and would not give us leave to ſpeak a word.

At laſt, raiſing my voice, that I might ſilence him a little: Barbarous dog! ſaid I, what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death. I charge you, upon your life, to ſtop your

hands, and ſtand ſtill here, or you are a dead man this minute.

Why, ſir, ſays he, do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reaſon for what we have done, come hither; and with that he ſhewed me the poor fellow hanging upon a tree, with his throat cut.

I confeſs, I was urged then myſelf, and at another time, ſhould have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and thought of *Jacob's* words to his ſons *Simeon* and *Levi*. *Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.* But I had now a new taſk upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me ſaw the ſight, as I had done, I had as much to do to reſtrain them, as I ſhould have had with the others; nay, my nephew himſelf fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of their men being overpowered; for, as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themſelves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be uſed like murderers: Upon theſe words, away ran eight of my men with the boatſwain, and his crew, to complete their bloody work: And I, ſeeing it quite out of my power to reſtrain them, came away penſive and ſad; for I could not bear the ſight, much leſs the horrible noiſe and cries, of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the *Supercargo* and two men, and with theſe I walked back to the boats. It was a very great piece of folly in me,

I confeſs, to venture back, as it were alone; for, as it began now to be almoſt day, and the alarm had run over the country, there ſtood about forty men armed with lances and bows at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houſes ſtood mentioned before; but by accident I miſſed the place, and came directly to the ſea-ſide; and by that time I got to the ſea-ſide, it was broad day; immediately I took the pinnance, and went aboard, and ſent her back to aſſiſt the men in what might happen.

I obſerved that about the time I came to the boat-ſide the fire was pretty well out, and the noiſe abated; but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our men's fire-arms, and ſaw a great ſmoke; this, as I underſtood afterwards, was our men falling upon the forty men, who, as I ſaid, ſtood at the few houſes on the way; of whom they killed ſixteen or ſeventeen, and ſet all thoſe houſes on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the ſhore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear; they came dropping in, ſome and ſome; not in two bodies, and in form, as they went out, but all in heaps, ſtraggling here-and-there, in ſuch a manner, that a ſmall force of reſolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country: The people were amazed, and ſurpriſed, and ſo frighted, that, I believe, an hundred of them would have fled at the ſight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any conſiderable defence; they were ſo ſurpriſed between

the terror of the fire, and the ſudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themſelves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party; if back again by another; ſo that they were every where knocked down. Nor did any of our men receive the leaſt hurt, except one who ſtrained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew the captain, and, indeed, with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular; as well for his acting ſo out of his duty, as commander of the ſhip, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting, rather than cooling, the rage of his men, in ſo bloody and cruel an enterpriſe: My nephew anſwered me very reſpectfully; but told me, that when he ſaw the body of the poor ſeaman, whom they had murdered in ſuch a cruel and barbarous manner, he was not maſter of himſelf, neither could he govern his paſſion: He owned, he ſhould not have done ſo, as he was commander of the ſhip, but, as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the reſt of the men, they were not ſubject to me at all; and they knew it well enough, ſo they took no notice of my diſlike.

The next day we ſet ſail; ſo we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed; ſome ſaid one thing, ſome another: But, according to the beſt of their accounts put all together, they killed, or deſtroyed, about 150 people, men, women, and children, and left not a houſe ſtanding in the town.

As for the poor fellow *Thomas Jeffrys*, as he was

quite dead, for his throat was ſo cut, that his head was half off, it would do him no ſervice to bring him away; ſo they left him where they found him, only took him down from the tree where he was hanged by one hand.

However juſt our men thought this action to be, I was againſt them in it; and I always, after that time, told them, God would blaſt the voyage; for I looked upon the blood they ſhed that night, to be murder in them: For though it is true, that they killed *Thomas Jeffrys*, yet it was as true, that *Jeffrys* was the aggreſſor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs, who came to our camp innocently, and on the faith of their capitulation.

The boatſwain defended this quarrel, when we were afterwards on board. He ſaid, it was true, that we ſeemed to break the truce, but really had not; and that the war was begun the night before, by the natives themſelves, who had ſhot at us, and killed one of our men without any juſt provocation; ſo that, as we were in a capacity to fight them, we might alſo be in a capacity to do ourſelves juſtice upon them, in an extraordinay manner; that though the poor man had taken liberty with a wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in ſuch a villainous manner; And that they did nothing but what was juſt, and that the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this ſhould have been enough to have warned us againſt going on ſhore among heathens and barbarians; but it is impoſſible to make mankind wiſe, but at their own experience; and their experi-

ence ſeems to be always of moſt uſe to them, when it is deareſt bought.

We were now bound to the gulph of *Perſia*, and from thence to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, only to touch at *Surat*; but the chief of the *Supercargo*'s deſign lay at the bay of *Bengal*, where, if he miſſed of the buſineſs outward-bound, he was to go to *China*, and return to the coaſt as he came home.

The firſt diſaſter that befel us, was in the gulph of *Perſia*, where five of our men, venturing on ſhore, on the *Arabian* ſide of the gulph, were ſurrounded by the *Arabs*, and either all killed, or carried away into ſlavery; the reſt of the boats crew were not able to reſcue them, and had but juſt time to get off their boat: I began to upbraid them with the juſt retribution of heaven in this caſe; but the boatſwain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my cenſures, than I could ſhew any warrant for in ſcripture, and referred to the thirteenth of St. *Luke*, ver. 4. where our ſaviour intimates, that thoſe men, on whom the tower of *Siloam* fell, were not ſinners above all the *Galileans*; but that which, indeed, put me to ſilence in this caſe, was that none of theſe five men, who were now loſt, were of the number of thoſe who went on ſhore to the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar* (ſo I always called it though our men could not bear the word maſſacre with any patience): And, indeed, this laſt circumſtance, as I have ſaid, put me to ſilence for the preſent.

But my frequent preaching to them on this ſubject, had worſe conſequences than I expected; and the boatſwain, who had been the head of the attempt, came

up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found that I continually brought that affair upon the ſtage; that I made unjuſt reflections upon it, and had uſed the men very ill on that account, and himſelf in particular; that as I was but a paſſenger, and had no command in the ſhip, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have ſome ill deſign in my head, and, perhaps, to call them to an account for it, when they came to *England*; and that therefore, unleſs I would reſolve to have done with it, and alſo not to concern myſelf farther with it, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ſhip; for he did not think it was ſafe to ſail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I did confeſs I had all along oppoſed the maſſacre of *Madagaſcar*, for ſuch I would always call it; and that I had on all occaſions ſpoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the reſt; that as to my having no command in the ſhip, that was true, nor did I exerciſe any authority, only took the liberty of ſpeaking my mind in things which publickly concerned us all; as to what concern I had in the voyage, that was none of his buſineſs; I was a conſiderable owner of the ſhip; and in that claim I conceived I had a right to ſpeak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him, or any one elſe; and began to be a little warm with him: He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over. We were at this time in the road to *Bengal*; and, being willing to ſee the place, I went on ſhore with the

*Supercargo*, in the ſhip's boat, to divert myſelf; and towards evening, was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me, he would not have me trouble myſelf to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board. Any one may gueſs what a ſurpriſe I was in at ſo inſolent a meſſage; and I aſked the man, who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me the cockſwain. I ſaid no more to the fellow, but bid him let them know he had delivered his meſſage, and that I had given him no anſwer to it.

I immediately went, and found out the *Supercargo*, and told him the ſtory, adding what I preſently foreſaw, *viz.* That there would certainly be a mutiny in the ſhip; and intreated him to go immediately on board the ſhip in an *Indian* boat, and acquaint the captain of it: But I might have ſpared this intelligence, for, before I had ſpoken to him on ſhore, the matter was effected on board: The boatſwain, the gunner, the carpenter, and in a word, all the inferior officers, as ſoon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and deſired to ſpeak with the captain, and there the boatſwain, making a long harangue (for the fellow talked very well), and repeating all he had ſaid to me, told the captain in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on ſhore, they were loth to uſe any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on ſhore, they would otherwiſe have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they ſhipped themſelves to ſerve in the ſhip, under his command, they would perform it faithfully: But if I would not quit the ſhip, or the cap-

tain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ſhip, and ſail no farther with him: And at that word *all*, he turned his face about towards the main-maſt, which was, it ſeems, the ſignal agreed on between them; at which all the ſeamen being got together, they cried out, one and all, one and all.

My nephew the captain was a man of ſpirit, and of great preſence of mind; and though he was ſurpriſed, you may be ſure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly, he would conſider of the matter; but that he could do nothing in it till he had ſpoken to me about it: He uſed ſome arguments with them, to ſhew them the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of the thing; but it was all in vain; they ſwore, and ſhook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on ſhore, unleſs he would engage to them, not to ſuffer me to come on board the ſhip.

This was an hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it; ſo he began to talk cavalierly to them; told them, that I was a very conſiderable owner of the ſhip, and that in juſtice he could not put me out of my own houſe; that this was next door to ſerving me, as the famous pirate *Kid* had done, who made the mutiny in the ſhip, ſet the captain on ſhore in an uninhabited iſland, and ran away with the ſhip; that let them go into what ſhip they would, if ever they came to *England* again, it would coſt them dear; that the ſhip was mine, and that he would not put me out of it; and that he would rather loſe the ſhip, and the voyage too, than diſoblige me ſo much; ſo they might do as they pleaſed. However, he would go on ſhore, and talk

with me there; and invited the boatſwain to go with him, and, perhaps, they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the propoſal; and ſaid, they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board, nor on ſhore; and if I came on board, they would go on ſhore. Well, ſaid the captain, if you are all of this mind, let me go on ſhore, and talk with him; ſo away he came to me with this account, a little after the meſſage had been brought to me from the cockſwain.

I was very glad to ſee my nephew, I muſt confeſs; for I was not without apprehenſions, that they would confine him by violence, ſet ſail, and run away with the ſhip; and then I had been ſtript naked in a remote country, and nothing to help myſelf: In ſhort, I had been in a worſe caſe, than when I was all alone in the iſland.

But they had not come that length, it ſeems, to my great ſatisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had ſaid to him, and how they had ſworn, and ſhook hands, that they would one and all leave the ſhip, if I was ſuffered to come on board, I told him, he ſhould not be concerned at it at all, for I would ſtay on ſhore: I only deſired he would take care and ſend me all my neceſſary things on ſhore, and leave me a ſufficient ſum of money, and I would find my way to *England* as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no way to help it, but to comply with it. So in ſhort, he went on board the ſhip again, and ſatisfied the men, that his uncle had yielded to their

importunity, and had ſent for his goods from on board the ſhip. So the matter was over in a very few hours; the men returned to their duty, and I begun to conſider what courſe I ſhould ſteer.

I was now alone in the remoteſt part of the world, as I think I may call it; for I was near three thouſand leagues, by ſea, farther off from *England*, than I was at my iſland; only, it is true, I might travel here by land over the *Great Mogul*'s country to *Surat*, might go from thence to *Baſſora* by ſea, up the gulph of *Perſia*, and from thence might take the way of the caravans, over the deſarts of *Arabia* to *Aleppo* and *Scanderoon*; from thence by ſea again to *Italy*, and ſo over land into *France*; and this, put together, might be, at leaſt, a full diameter of the globe; but, if it were to be meaſured, I ſuppoſe it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, which were coming to *Bengal*, from *Achin*, on the iſland of *Sumatra*, and get paſſage on board them for *England*: But as I came hither without any concern with the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company, ſo it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unleſs with great favour of the captains of the ſhips, or of the company's factors; and to both I was an utter ſtranger.

Here I had the particular pleaſure, ſpeaking by contraries, to ſee the ſhip ſet ſail without me; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumſtances ſcarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ſhip, and ſetting thoſe that would not agree with their villainy, on ſhore: Indeed, this was the next door to

it, both ways: However, my nephew left me two ſervants, or rather, one companion, and one ſervant; the firſt was clerk to the purſer, whom he engaged to go with me; and the other was his own ſervant: I took me alſo a good lodging in the houſe of an *Engliſh* woman, where ſeveral merchants lodged, ſome *French*, two *Italians*, or rather *Jews*, and one *Engliſhman*. Here I was handſomely enough entertained; and, that I might not be ſaid to run raſhly upon any thing, I ſtayed here above nine months, conſidering what courſe to take, and how to manage myſelf: I had ſome *Engliſh* goods with me, of value, and a conſiderable ſum of money, my nephew furniſhing me with a thouſand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occaſion, that I might not be ſtreightened, whatever might happen.

I quickly diſpoſed of my goods, and to advantage too; and, as I originally intended, I bought here ſome very good diamonds, which, of all other things, was the moſt proper for me, in my circumſtances, becauſe I might always, carry my whole eſtate about me.

After a long ſtay here, and many propoſals made for my return to *England*, but none falling to my mind, the *Engliſh* merchant, who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning; countryman, ſays he, I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it ſuits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, ſuit with yours alſo, when you ſhall have thoroughly conſidered it.

Here we are poſted, ſays he, you by accident, and

I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country, where, by us, who underſtand trade and buſineſs, a great deal of money is to be got: If you will put a thouſand pounds to my thouſand pounds, we will hire a ſhip here, the firſt we can get to our minds; you ſhall be captain, I'll be merchant; and we will go a trading voyage to *China*; for what ſhould we ſtand ſtill for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies, and earthly, are buſy and diligent: Why ſhould we be idle? There are no drones, ſays he, living in the world but men: Why ſhould we be of that number?

I liked this propoſal very well, and the more, becauſe it ſeemed to be expreſſed with ſo much good will, and in ſo friendly a manner: I will not ſay but that I might, by my looſe and unhinged circumſtances, be the fitter to embrace a propoſal for trade, and, indeed, for any thing elſe; or, otherwiſe, trade was none of my element: However, I might, perhaps, ſay, with ſome truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was; and no propoſal for ſeeing any part of the world which I had never ſeen before, could poſſibly come amiſs to me.

It was, however, ſome time before we could get a ſhip to our mind; and when we got a veſſel, it was not eaſy to get *Engliſh* ſailors; that is to ſay, ſo many as were neceſſary to govern the voyage, and manage the ſailors which we ſhould pick up there: After ſome time we got a mate, a boatſwain, and a gunner, *Engliſh*; a *Dutch* carpenter, and three *Portu-*

*gueſe* foremaſt men: with theſe, we found, we could do well enough, having *Indian* ſeamen, ſuch as they are, to make up.

There are ſo many travellers, who have written the hiſtory of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be but very little diverſion to any body, to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there: Thoſe things I leave to others, and refer the reader to thoſe journals and travels of *Engliſhmen*, many of which, I find, are publiſhed, and more promiſed every day: It is enough for me to tell you, that we made the voyage to *Achin*, in the iſland of *Sumatra* firſt; and from thence to *Siam*, where we exchanged ſome of our wares for opium, and for ſome arrack; the firſt, a commodity which bears a great price among the *Chineſe*, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there: In a word, we went up to *Suſham*, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to *Bengal*; and I was very well ſatisfied with my adventure. I obſerved that our people in *England* often admire how the officers, which the company ſend into *India*, and the merchants which generally ſtay there, get ſuch very great eſtates as they do, and ſometimes come home worth ſixty, or ſeventy, and an hundred thouſands pounds at a time.

But it is no wonder, or, at leaſt, we ſhall ſee ſo much farther into it, when we conſider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will then be no wonder; and much leſs will it be ſo, when we conſider, that at all thoſe places and ports where the *Engliſh* ſhips come, there

is ſo much, and ſuch conſtant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the return, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In ſhort, we made a very good voyage, and I got ſo much money by the firſt adventure, and ſuch an inſight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty years younger, I ſhould have been tempted to have ſtayed here, and ſought no farther for making my fortune: But what was all this to a man on the wrong ſide of threeſcore; that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a reſtleſs deſire of ſeeing the world, than a covetous deſire of getting in it? And, indeed, I think, it is with great juſtice that I now call it a reſtleſs deſire; for it was ſo; when I was at home, I was reſtleſs to go abroad; and now I was abroad, I was reſtleſs to be at home. I ſay, What was this gain to me? I was rich enough already; nor had I any uneaſy deſires about getting more money; and therefore, the profits of the voyage to me, were things of no great force to me; for the prompting me forward to farther undertakings: Hence I thought, that by this voyage I had made no progreſs at all; becauſe I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to a home; whereas, my eye, which, like that which *Solomon* ſpeaks of, *was never ſatisfied with ſeeing*, was ſtill more deſirous of wandering and ſeeing. I was come into a part of the world which I never was in before; and that part in particular which I had heard much of; and was reſolved to ſee as much of it as I could; and

then I thought, I might ſay, I had ſeen all the world that was worth ſeeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions; I do not name this, to inſiſt upon my own, for I acknowledge his was moſt juſt, and the moſt ſuited to the end of a merchant's life; who, when he is abroad upon adventures, it is his wiſdom to ſtick to that, as the beſt thing for him, which he is like to get the moſt money by: My new friend kept himſelf to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone like a carrier's horſe, always to the ſame inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it: On the other hand, mine, as old as I was, was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to ſee a thing twice over.

But this was not all; I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the moſt unſettled reſolution imaginable which way to go: In the interval of thoſe conſultations, my friend, who was always upon the ſearch for buſineſs, propoſed another voyage to me, *viz*, among the ſpice-iſlands; and to bring home a load of cloves from the *Manillas*, or thereabouts; places where, indeed, the *Dutch* do trade; but the iſlands belong partly to the *Spaniards*; though we went not ſo far, but to ſome other, where they have not the whole power as they have at *Batavia*, *Ceylon*, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was, in bringing me to come into it; however, at laſt, nothing elſe offering, and finding that really ſtirring about, and trading, the profit being ſo great, and, as I may ſay, certain, had

more pleaſure in it, and more ſatisfaction to the mind, than ſitting ſtill; which, to me eſpecially, was the unhappieſt part of life, I reſolved on this voyage too; which we made very ſucceſsfully, touching at *Borneo*, and ſeveral iſlands, whoſe names I do not remember, and came home in about five months; We ſold our ſpice, which was chiefly cloves, and ſome nutmegs, to the *Perſian* merchants, who carried them away for the gulph; and, making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, ſmiled at me: Well now, ſaid he, with a ſort of an agreeable inſult upon my indolent temper, is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and ſpending our time in ſtaring at the nonſenſe and ignorance of the *Pagans?* Why truly, ſaid I, my friend, I think it is, and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandizing; but I muſt tell you, ſaid I, by the way, you do not know what I am a doing; for if once I conquer my backwardneſs, and imbark heartily, as old as I am, I ſhall harraſs you up and down the world till I tire you; for I ſhall purſue it ſo eagerly, I ſhall never let you lie ſtill.

But to be ſhort with my ſpeculations: A little while after this, there came in a *Dutch* ſhip from *Batavia*; ſhe was a coaſter, not an *European* trader, and of about two hundred tons burden: The men, as they pretended, having been ſo ſickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to ſea with, he lay by at *Bengal;* and, as if having got money enough, or being willing, for other reaſons, to go for *Europe*, he gave public notice, that he would ſell his ſhip: This came to my ears be-

fore my new partner heard of it; and I had a great mind to buy it: So I went home to him, and told him of it: He conſiders a while, for he was no raſh man neither; but, muſing ſome time, he replied, ſhe is a little too big; but, however, we will have her. Accordingly we bought the ſhip; and, agreeing with the maſter, we paid for her, and took poſſeſſion: When we had done ſo, we reſolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with thoſe we had, for the purſuing our buſineſs; but on a ſudden, they having not received their wages, but their ſhare of the money, as we afterwards learnt, not one of them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together, by land, to *Agra*, the great city of the mogul's reſidence; and from thence were to travel to *Surat*, and ſo by ſea, to the gulph of *Perſia*.

Nothing had ſo heartily troubled me a good while, as that I miſſed the opportunity of going with them; for ſuch a ramble, I thought, and in ſuch company as would both have guarded me, and diverted me, would have ſuited mightily with my great deſign; and I ſhould both have ſeen the world, and gone homewards too: But I was much better ſatisfied a few days after, when I came to know what ſort of fellows they were; for, in ſhort, their hiſtory was, that this man they called captain, was the gunner only, not commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on ſhore by ſome of the *Malaccans*, who had killed the captain, and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, theſe men, eleven in number, had reſolved to run away with the ſhip, which

they did; and had brought her in at the bay of *Bengal*, leaving the mate and five men more on ſhore; of whom we ſhall hear farther.

Well; let them come by the ſhip how they would, we came honeſtly by her, as we thought: though we did not, I confeſs, examine into things ſo exactly as we ought; for we never inquired any thing of the ſeamen, who, if we had examined, would certainly have faultered in their accounts, contradicted one another, and, perhaps, contradicted themſelves; or, one how or other, we ſhould have ſeen reaſon to have ſuſpected them; but the man ſhewed us a bill of ſale for the ſhip, to one *Emanuel Cloſterſhoven*, or ſome ſuch name (for I ſuppoſe it was all a forgery), and called himſelf by that name; and we could not contradict him; and, being withal a little too unwary, or, at leaſt, having no ſuſpicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

However, we picked up ſome *Engliſh* ſeamen here after this, and ſome *Dutch*; and we now reſolved for a ſecond voyage to the ſouth-eaſt, for cloves, *&c.* that is to ſay, among the *Phillipine* and *Malacca* iſles; and, in ſhort, not to fill this part of my ſtory with trifles, when what is yet to come is ſo remarkable, I ſpent, from firſt to laſt, ſix years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good ſucceſs; and was now the laſt year with my partner, going in the ſhip above mentioned, on a voyage to *China*; but deſigning firſt to *Siam*, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being, by contrary winds, obliged to beat up and down a great while in the ſtreights of

*Malacca*, and among the iſlands, we were no ſooner got clear of thoſe difficult ſeas, but we found our ſhip had ſprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our induſtry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make for ſome port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of *Cambodia*; for I had made the *Engliſh* mate, one Mr. *Thompſon*, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ſhip upon myſelf: This river lies on the north-ſide of the great bay or gulph, which goes up to *Siam*.

While we were here, and going often on ſhore for refreſhment, there comes to me one day an *Engliſhman*, and he was, it ſeems, a gunner's mate on board an *Engliſh Eaſt-India* ſhip, which rode in the ſame river, up at, or near the city of *Cambodia*; what brought him hither we knew not; but he comes up to me, and, ſpeaking *Engliſh*, ſir, ſays he, you are a ſtranger to me, and I to you; but I have ſomething to tell you, that very nearly concerns you.

I looked ſteadily at him a good while, and he thought at firſt I had known him, but I did not: If it very nearly concerns me, ſaid I, and not yourſelf, what moves you to tell it me? I am moved, ſaid he, by the imminent danger you are in; and, for aught I ſee, you have no knowledge of it; I know no danger I am in, ſaid I, but that my ſhip is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I propoſe to lay her aground to-morrow, to ſee if I can find it. But, ſir, ſays he, leaky, or not leaky, find it, or not find it, you will be wiſer than to lay your ſhip on ſhore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to ſay to you; Do you know, ſir, ſaid he,

the town of *Cambodia* lies about fifteen leagues up this river? and there are two large *Engliſh* ſhips about five leagues on this ſide, and three *Dutch*. Well, ſaid I, and what is that to me? Why, ſir, ſays he, is it for a man that is upon ſuch adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine firſt what ſhips there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I ſuppoſe you do not think you are a match for them. I was amuſed very much at this diſcourſe, but not amazed at it; for I could not conceive what he meant; and I turned ſhort upon him, and ſaid, ſir, I wiſh you would explain yourſelf; I cannot imagine what reaſon I have to be afraid of any of the company's ſhips, or *Dutch* ſhips; I am no interloper; what can they have to ſay to me?

He looked like a man half angry, half pleaſed; and, pauſing a while, but ſmiling, Well, ſir, ſays he, if you think yourſelf ſecure you muſt take your chance; I am ſorry your fate ſhould blind you againſt good advice; but aſſure yourſelf, if you do not put to ſea immediately, you will the very next tide, be attacked by five long-boats full of men; and, perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined into afterwards; I thought, ſir, added he, I ſhould have met with a better reception, than this, for doing you a piece of ſervice of ſuch importance. I can never be ungrateful, ſaid I, for any ſervice, or to any man that offers me any kindneſs; but it is paſt my comprehenſion, ſaid I, what they ſhould have ſuch a deſign upon me for: However, ſince you ſay there is no time to be loſt, and that there is ſome villainous deſign in hand againſt me, I

will go on board this minute, and put to ſea immediately, if my men can ſtop the leak, or if we can ſwim without ſtopping it: But, ſir, ſaid I, ſhall I go away ignorant of the reaſon of all this? Can you give me no farther light into it?

I can but tell you but part of the ſtory, ſir, ſays he; but I have a *Dutch* ſeaman here with me, and, I believe, I could perſuade him to tell you the reſt; but there is ſcarce time for it: But the ſhort of the ſtory is this, the firſt part of which, I ſuppoſe, you know well enough, *viz.* that you were with this ſhip at *Sumatra*; that there your captain was murdered by the *Malaccans*, with three of his men; and that you, or ſome of thoſe that were on board with you, ran away with the ſhip, and are ſince turned pirates. This is the ſum of the ſtory, and you will be all ſeized as pirates, I can aſſure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchants ſhips ſhew but little law to pirates, if they get them in their power.

Now you ſpeak plain *Engliſh*, ſaid I, and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk of, but I am ſure we came honeſtly and fairly by the ſhip, yet, ſeeing ſuch work is a doing, as you ſay, and that you ſeem to mean honeſtly, I will be upon my guard. Nay, ſir, ſays he, do not talk of being upon your guard; the beſt defence is to be out of the danger; if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to ſea without fail at high-water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down; for they will come away at high-water; and as they have twenty miles to come,

you get near two hours of them, by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way: beſides, as they are only boats, and not ſhips, they will not venture to follow you far out to ſea, eſpecially if it blows.

Well, ſaid I, you have been very kind in this: What ſhall I do for you, to make you amends? Sir, ſays he, you may not be ſo willing to make me amends, becauſe you may not be convinced of the truth of it: I will make an offer to you, I have nineteen months pay due to me on board the ſhip----, which I came out of *England* in; and the *Dutchman*, that is with me, has ſeven months pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you; if you find nothing more in it, we will deſire no more; but if we do convince you, that we have ſaved your life, and the ſhip, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the reſt to you.

I conſented to this readily; and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As ſoon as I came to the ſhip-ſide, my partner, who was on board, came out on the quarter-deck, and called me, with a great deal of joy, O ho! O ho! we have ſtopped the leak! we have ſtopped the leak! ſay you ſo, ſaid I, thank God; but weigh the anchor then immediately: Weigh! ſays he; What do you mean by that? What is the matter? ſays he. Aſk no queſtions, ſaid I, but all hands to work, and weigh, without loſing a minute: He was ſurpriſed: But, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite done, yet a little land-breeze blowing, we ſtood out to ſea: Then

I called him into the cabin, and told him the ſtory at large; and we called in the men, and they told us the reſt of it; but as it took us a great deal of time, ſo before we had done, a ſeaman comes to the cabin-door, and calls out to us, that the captain bade him tell us, we were chaſed: Chaſed, ſaid I, by whom and by what? By five ſloops, or boats, ſaid the fellow, full of men. Very well, ſaid I; then it is apparent there is ſomething in it. In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up; and told them, that there was a deſign to ſeize the ſhip, and take us for pirates; and aſked them, if they would ſtand by us, and by one another? The men anſwered, chearfully, that, one and all, they would live and die with us. Then I aſked the captain, what way he thought beſt for us to manage a fight with them: For, reſiſt them I reſolved we would, and that to the laſt drop. He ſaid, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great ſhot, as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our ſmall arms, to keep them from boarding us; but when neither of theſe would do any longer, we ſhould retire to our cloſe quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bull-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had in the mean time, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the ſteerage, to clear the deck, and load them with muſquet-bullets, and ſmall pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand; and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while kept out to ſea, with wind enough, and could ſee the boats at a diſtance, being five large

long-boats following us, with all the ſail they could make.

Two of theſe boats, which, by our glaſſes, we could ſee, were *Engliſh*, had outſailed the reſt, were near two leagues ahead of them, and gained upon us conſiderably; ſo that we found they would come up with us; upon which we fired a gun without a ſhot, to intimate that they ſhould bring to; and we put out a flag of truce, as a ſignal for parley; but they kept crowding after us, till they came within ſhot: Upon this we took in our white flag, they having made no anſwer to it, hung out the red flag, and fired at them with ſhot: Notwithſtanding this, they came on till they were near enough to call to them with a ſpeaking trumpet, which we had on board; ſo we called to them, and bade them keep off at their peril.

It was all one, they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our ſtern, ſo to board us on our quarter: Upon which, ſeeing they were reſolute for miſchief, and depended upon the ſtrength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ſhip to, ſo that they lay upon our broadſide, when immediately we fired five guns at them; one of which had been levelled ſo true as to carry away the ſtern of the hindermoſt boat, and bring them to the neceſſity of taking down their ſail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from ſinking; ſo ſhe lay by, and had enough of it; but, ſeeing the foremoſt boat ſtill crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made

up to the boat which we had diſabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards ſee her take out the men: We called again to the foremoſt boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what was her buſineſs with us; but had no anſwer; only ſhe crowded cloſe under our ſtern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dextrous fellow, run out his two chace guns, and fired at her; but the ſhot miſſing, the men in the boat ſhouted, waved their caps, and came on; but the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them a ſecond time; one ſhot of which, though it miſſed the boat itſelf, yet fell in among the men, and we could eaſily ſee, had done a great deal of miſchief among them; but we, taking no notice of that, wear-ed the ſhip again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them; and, firing three guns more, we found the boat was ſplit almoſt to pieces; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her ſtern, was ſhot quite away; ſo they handed their ſail immediately, and were in great diſorder; but, to complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was ſinking, and ſome of the men already in the water: Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept cloſe by our ſide, with orders to pick up ſome of the men, if they could, and ſave them from drowning, and immediately to come on board with them; becauſe we ſaw the reſt of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace, followed their orders, and took up three men; one of which was juſt drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As ſoon as they were on board, we

croweded all the ſail we could make, and ſtood farther out to ſea; and we found, that when the other three boats came up to the firſt two, they gave over their chace.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which, though I knew not the reaſon of it, yet ſeemed to be much greater than I apprehended; I took care, that we ſhould change our courſe, and not let any one imagine whither we were going; ſo we ſtood out to ſea eaſtward, quite out of the courſe of all *European* ſhips, whether they were bound to *China*, or any where elſe, within the commerce of the *European* nations.

When we were now at ſea, we began to conſult with the two ſeamen, and enquire firſt, what the meaning of all this ſhould be? The *Dutchman* let us into the ſecret of it at once; telling us, that the fellow that ſold us the ſhip, as we ſaid, was no more than a thief, that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whoſe name too he mentioned, though I do not remember it now, was treacherouſly murdered by the natives on the coaſt of *Malacca*, with three of his men; and that he, this *Dutchman*, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while; till at length, he in partcular, in a miraculous manner, made his eſcape, and ſwam off to a *Dutch* ſhip, which ſailing near the ſhore, in its way from *China*, had ſent their boat on ſhore for freſh water; that he durſt not come to that part of the ſhore where the boat was, but made ſhift in the night, to take in the water farther off, and, ſwimming a great while, at laſt the ſhip's boat took him up.

He then told us, that he went to *Batavia*, where

two of the ſeamen, belonging to the ſhip, had arrived, having deſerted the reſt in their travels; and gave an account, that the fellow who had run away with the ſhip, ſold her at *Bengal* to a ſet of pirates, which were gone a cruiſing in her; and that they had already taken an *Engliſh* ſhip, and two *Dutch* ſhips, very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly, and though we knew it to be falſe, yet, as my partner ſaid very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had had ſuch a prepoſſeſſion againſt us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourſelves, or to hope for any good quarters at their hands; eſpecially conſidering that our accuſers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and ungoverned paſſion have executed: And therefore it was his opinion, we ſhould go directly back to *Bengal*, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; becauſe there we could give an account of ourſelves, and could prove where we were when the ſhip put in, whom we bought her of, and the like; and which was more than all the reſt, if we were put to the neceſſity of bringing it before the proper judges, we ſhould be ſure to have ſome juſtice; and not be hanged firſt, and judged afterward.

I was ſometime of my partner's opinion; but after a little more ſerious thinking, I told them, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to *Bengal*, for that we were on the wrong ſide of the ſtreights of *Malacca*; and that if the alarm was given, we ſhould be ſure to be way-laid on every ſide,

as well by the *Dutch* of *Batavia*, as the *Engliſh* elſewhere; that if we ſhould be taken, as it were, running away, we ſhould even condemn ourſelves, and there would want no more evidence to deſtroy us. I alſo aſked the *Engliſh* ſailor's opinion, who ſaid, he was of my mind, and that we ſhould certainly be taken.

This danger a little ſtartled my partner, and all the ſhip's company; and we immediately reſolved to go away to the coaſt of *Tonquin*, and ſo on to *China*; and from thence purſuing the firſt deſign, as to trade, find ſome way or other to diſpoſe of the ſhip, and come back in ſome of the veſſels of the country, ſuch as we could get. This was approved of as the beſt method for our ſecurity; and accordingly we ſteered away N. N. E. keeping above fifty leagues off from the uſual courſe to the eaſt-ward.

This, however, put us to ſome inconveniencies; for firſt, the winds, when we came to that diſtance from the ſhore, ſeemed to be more ſteadily againſt us, blowing almoſt trade, as we call it, from the eaſt, and E. N. E. ſo that we were a long while upon our voyage; and we were but ill provided with victuals for ſo long a run; and, which was ſtill worſe, there was ſome danger, that thoſe *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, whoſe boats purſued us, whereof ſome were bound that way, might be got in before us; and if not, ſome other ſhips, bound to *China*, might have information of us from them, and purſue us with the ſame vigour.

I muſt confeſs, I was now very uneaſy, and thought myſelf, including the late eſcape from the long-boats,

to have been in the moſt dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my paſt life; for, whatever ill circumſtances I had been in, I was never purſued for a thief before; nor had I ever done any thing that merited the name of diſhoneſt, or fraudulent, much leſs thieviſh. I had chiefly been mine own enemy; or, as I may rightly ſay, I had been nobody's enemy but my own. But now I was embarraſſed in the worſt condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear. And if I had been taken, it had been under a ſuppoſed guilt of the worſt kind; at leaſt, a crime eſteemed ſo among the people I had to do with.

This made me very anxious to make an eſcape, though which way to do it, I knew not; or what port or place we ſhould go to. My partner, ſeeing me thus dejected, though he was the moſt concerned at firſt, began to encourage me; and deſcribing to me the ſeveral ports of that coaſt, told me, he would put in on the coaſt of *Coehinchina*, or the bay of *Tonquin*; intending to go afterwards to *Macao*, a town once in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, and where ſtill a great many *European* families reſided, and particularly the miſſionary prieſts uſually went thither, in order to their going forward to *China*.

Hither then we reſolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular courſe, and very much ſtreightened for proviſions, we came within ſight of the coaſt very early in the morning; and, upon reflection upon the paſt circumſtances we were in, and the danger, if we had not eſcaped, we reſolved to put

into a ſmall river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to ſee if we could, either over land, or by the ſhip's pinnace, come to know what ſhips were in any port thereabouts. This happy ſtep was, indeed, our deliverance; for though we did not immediately ſee any *European* ſhips in the bay of *Tonquin*, yet, the next morning, there came into the bay two *Dutch* ſhips, and a third without any colours ſpread out, but which we believed to be a *Dutchman*, paſſed by at about two leagues diſtance, ſteering for the coaſt of *China*; and in the afternoon went by two *Engliſh* ſhips, ſteering the ſame courſe; and thus, we thought, we ſaw ourſelves beſet with enemies, both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profeſſion; and though, it is true, we had not much to ſeek of them, and, except getting a few proviſions, cared not how little we had to do with them, yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourſelves from being inſulted by them ſeveral ways.

We were in a ſmall river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmoſt limits northward; and by our boat we coaſted north-eaſt to the point of land which opens to the great bay of *Tonquin*; and it was in this beating up along the ſhore, that we diſcovered as above, that in a word, we were ſurrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the moſt barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coaſt; having no correſpondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fiſh, and oil, and ſuch groſs commodities; and it may be particularly ſeen, that they are, as I ſaid, the moſt barbarous of any of the inhabitants; *viz.* that

among other cuſtoms they have this one, that if any veſſel have the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked upon their coaſt, they preſently make the men all priſoners; that is to ſay, ſlaves: And it was not long before we found a ſpice of their kindneſs this way, on the occaſion following.

I have obſerved above, that our ſhip ſprung a leak at ſea, and that we could not find it out; and however it happened, that, as I have ſaid, it was ſtopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be ſeized, by the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ſhips, near the bay of *Siam*; yet, as we did not find the ſhip ſo perfectly tight and ſound as we deſired, we reſolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on ſhore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to waſh and clean her bottom; and, if poſſible, to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ſhip, and brought all our guns, and other moveable things, to one ſide, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; for, on ſecond thoughts, we did not care to lay her dry aground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with ſuch a ſight, came wondering down to the ſhore, to look at us; and ſeeing the ſhip lie down on one ſide in ſuch a manner, and heeling towards the ſhore, and not ſeeing our men, who were at work, on her bottom, with ſtages, and with their boats on the off-ſide, they preſently concluded, that the ſhip was caſt away, and lay ſo very faſt on the ground.

On this ſuppoſition they came all about us in two

or three hours time, with ten or twelve large boats, having ſome of them eight, ſome ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board, and plundered the ſhip, and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for ſlaves of their king's, or whatever they call him, for we knew nothing who was their governor.

When they came up to the ſhip, and began to row round her, they diſcovered us all hard at work, on the outſide of the ſhip's bottom and ſide, waſhing, and graving, and ſtopping, as every ſeafaring man knows how.

They ſtood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little ſurpriſed, could not imagine what their deſign was; but, being willing to be ſure, we took this opportunity to get ſome of us into the ſhip, and others to hand down arms and ammunition, to thoſe that were at work, to defend themſelves with, if there ſhould be occaſion; and it was no more than need; for, in leſs than a quarter of an hour's conſultation, they agreed, it ſeems, that the ſhip was really a wreck; that we were all at work, endeavouring to ſave her, or to ſave our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to ſave ſome of our goods. Upon this they took it for granted they all belonged to them; and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, ſeeing ſo many of them, began to be frighted; for we lay but in an ill poſture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they ſhould do. I im-

mediately called to the men who worked upon the ſtages, to ſlip them down, and get up the ſide into the ſhip; and bade thoſe in the boat to row round, and come on board; and thoſe few of us who were on board, worked with all the ſtrength and hands we had, to bring the ſhip to rights; but, however, neither the men upon the ſtage, nor thoſe in the boats, could do as they were ordered, before the *Cochinchineſe* were upon them; and, with two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their priſoners.

The firſt man they laid hold of was an *Engliſh* ſeaman, a ſtout ſtrong fellow, who having a muſquet in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he underſtood his buſineſs better than I could teach him; for he grappled the *Pagan*, and dragged him by main force out of their own boat into ours; where, taking him by the two ears, he beat his head ſo againſt the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died inſtantly in his hands; and in the mean time, a *Dutchman* who ſtood next, took up the muſquet, and with the but-end of it, ſo laid about him, that he knocked down five of them, who attempted to enter the boat; but this was little towards reſiſting thirty or forty men, who fearleſs, becauſe ignorant of their danger, began to throw themſelves into the long-boat, where we had but five men to defend it: But one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deſerved our laughter rather than any thing elſe; and that was thus:

Our carpenter being prepared to grave the outſide of the ſhip, as well as to pay the ſeams where he had

caulked her, to ſtop the leaks, had got two kettles juſt let down into the boat; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with roſin, tallow, and oil, and ſuch ſtuff as the ſhipwrights uſe for that work: and the man that tended the carpenter, had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he ſupplied the men that were at work, with that hot ſtuff: two of the enemy's men entered the boat juſt where this fellow ſtood, being in the foreſheets; he immediately ſaluted them with a ladleful of the ſtuff, boiling hot, which ſo burnt and ſcalded them, being half-naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the ſea. The carpenter ſaw it, and cried out, well done *Jack*, give them ſome more of it; when ſtepping forward himſelf, he takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them ſo plentifully, that, in ſhort, of all the men in three boats, there was not one that was not ſcalded and burnt with it in a moſt frightful and pitiful manner, and made ſuch a howling and crying, that I never heard a worſe noiſe, and, indeed, nothing like it; for it is worth obſerving, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation have a particular way of exclamation, and make noiſes as different from one another as their ſpeech. I cannot give the noiſe theſe creatures made, a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard any thing more like the noiſe of the wolves, which, as I have ſaid, I heard howl in the foreſt on the frontiers of *Languedoc*.

I was never pleaſed with a victory better in my life; not only as it was a perfect ſurpriſe to me, and that our

danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any bloodſhed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was ſick of killing ſuch poor ſavage wretches, even tho' it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought juſt, and knew no better; and that tho' it may be a juſt thing, becauſe neceſſary, for there is no neceſſary wickedneſs in nature; yet I thought it was a ſad life, when we muſt be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preſerve ourſelves; and, indeed, I think ſo ſtill; and I would, even now, ſuffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of the worſt perſon injuring me. I believe alſo, all conſidering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion, if they entered ſeriouſly into the conſideration of it.

But to return to my ſtory: All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the reſt of the men on board, had, with great dexterity, brought the ſhip almoſt to rights; and, having gotten our guns into their places again, the gunner called to me, to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him; but bade him heat another pitch-kettle; which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was ſo terrified with what they met with in their firſt attack, that they would not come on again; and ſome of them, that were fartheſt off, ſeeing the ſhip ſwim, as it were, upright, began, as we ſuppoſed, to ſee their miſtake, and gave over the enterprize, find-

ing it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight; and, having gotten some rice, and some roots, and bread, with about sixteen good big hogs on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us.

We, therefore, got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail. In the mean time, lying at an anchor some distance from the shore, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture, as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail; we would have gone into the bay of *Tonquin*, for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the *Dutch* ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little befor; so we kept on N. E. towards the isle of *Formosa*, as much afraid of being seen by a *Dutch* or *English* merchant ship, as a *Dutch* or *English* merchant ship in the *Mediterranean* is of an *Algerine* man of war.

When we were thus got to sea, we kept on N. E. as if we would go to the *Manillas* or the *Philippine* islands; and this we did, that we might not fall in the way of any of the *European* ships; and then we steered north again, till we came to the latitude of 22 deg. 20 min. by which means we made the island of *For-*

*moſa* directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and freſh proviſions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, ſupplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains; which is what we did not find among other people; and may be owing to the remains of chriſtianity, which was once planted here by a *Dutch* miſſionary of *Proteſtants*, and is a teſtimony of what I have often obſerved; *viz.* that the chriſtian religion always civilizes the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works ſaving effects upon them or no.

From hence we ſailed ſtill north, keeping the coaſt of *China* at an equal diſtance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of *China*, where our *European* ſhips uſually come; being reſolved, if poſſible, not to fall into any of their hands, eſpecially in this country, where, as our circumſtances were, we could not fail of being intirely ruined; nay, ſo great was my fear in particular, as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly, I would much rather have choſen to fall into the hands of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we reſolved to put into the firſt trading port we ſhould came at; and, ſtanding in for the ſhore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old *Portugueſe* pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an *European* ſhip, came to offer his ſervice, which, indeed, we were very glad of, and took him on board: Upon which, without aſking us whither we would go, he diſmiſſed the boat he came in, and ſent it back.

I thought it was now ſo much in our choice, to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk with him about carrying of us to the gulph of *Nanquin*, which is the moſt northern part of the coaſt of *China*. The old man ſaid he knew the gulph of *Nanquin* very well; but, ſmiling, aſked us, what we would do there.

I told him we would ſell our cargo, and purchaſe *China* wares, callicoes, raw ſilks, tea, wrought ſilks, *&c.* and ſo would return by the ſame courſe we came. He told us our beſt port had been to have put in at *Macao*, where we could not fail of a market for our opium, to our ſatisfaction, and might, for our money, have purchaſed all ſorts of *China* goods, as cheap as we could at *Nanquin*.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated, or conceited, I told him, we were gentlemen, as well as merchants; and that we had a mind to go and ſee the great city of *Pekin*, and the famous court of the monarch of *China*. Why then, ſays the old man, you ſhould go to *Ningpo*, where, by the river which runs into the ſea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable made ſtream, which goes through the heart of all the vaſt empire of *China*, croſſes all the rivers, paſſes ſome conſiderable hills, by the help of ſluices and gates, and goes up to the city of *Pekin*, being in length near 270 leagues.

Well, ſaid I, ſeignior *Portugueſe*, but that is not our buſineſs now: The great queſtion is, if you can carry us up to the city of *Nanquin*, from whence we can travel to *Pekin* afterwards? Yes, he ſaid, he could do

ſo very well, and there was a great *Dutch* ſhip gone up that way juſt before. This gave me a little ſhock; a *Dutch* ſhip was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at leaſt if he had not come in too frightful a figure: We depended upon it, that a *Dutch* ſhip would be our deſtruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ſhips they trade with in thoſe parts being of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confuſed, and under ſome concern, when he named a *Dutch* ſhip; and ſaid to me, ſir, you need be under no apprehenſion of the *Dutch*, I ſuppoſe they are not now at war with your nation. No, ſaid I, that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take, when they are out of the reach of the laws of their own country. Why, ſaid he, you are no pirates, what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants ſure.

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by ſome ſtop in the veſſels appointed by nature to circulate it; for it put me into the greateſt diſorder and confuſion imaginable; nor was it poſſible for me to conceal it ſo, but that the old man eaſily perceived it.

Sir, ſaid he, I find you are in ſome diſorder in your thoughts at my talk; pray be pleaſed to go which way you think fit; and, depend upon it, I'll do you all the ſervice I can. Why, ſeignior, ſaid I, it is true, I am a little unſettled in my reſolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am ſomething more ſo, for what you ſaid about pirates; I hope there are no pirates in theſe ſeas; we are but in an ill condition to

meet with them; for you ſee we have but a ſmall force, and but very weakly manned.

O, ſir, ſaid he, do not be concerned, I do not know, that there have been any pirates in theſe ſeas theſe fifteen years, except one, which was ſeen, as I hear, in the bay of *Siam*, about a month ſince; but you may be aſſured ſhe is gone to the ſouthward; nor was ſhe a ſhip of any great force, or fit for the work; ſhe was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and ſome of his men had been murdered by the *Malaccans*, at or near the iſland of *Sumatra*.

What! ſaid I, ſeeming to know nothing of the matter, did they murder the captain? No, ſaid he, I do not underſtand that they murdered him; but, as they afterwards ran away with the ſhip, it is generally believed they betrayed him into the hands of the *Malaccans*, who did murder him; and, perhaps, they procured them to do it. Why then, ſaid I, they deſerved death, as much as if they had done it themſelves. Nay, ſaid the old man, they do deſerve it; and they will certainly have it, if they light upon any *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhip; for they have all agreed together, that, if they meet that rogue, they will give him no quarter.

But, ſaid I to him, you ſay the pirate is gone out of theſe ſeas: How can they meet with him then? Why, that is true, ſaid he, they do ſay ſo; but he was, as I tell you, in the bay of *Siam*, in the river of *Cambodia*, and was diſcovered there by ſome *Dutchmen*, who belonged to the ſhip, and who were left on ſhore when they run away with her; and ſome *Engliſh* and

*Dutch* traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay, ſaid he, if the foremoſt boats had been well ſeconded by the reſt, they had certainly taken him; but he, finding only two boats, within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at theſe two, and diſabled them before the others came up; and then ſtanding off to ſea, the others were not able to follow him, and ſo he got away. But they have all ſo exact a deſcription of the ſhip, that they will be ſure to know him; and where ever they find him, they have vowed to give no quarter to either the captain, or the ſeamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm.

What! ſaid I, will they execute them right or wrong, hang them firſt, and judge them afterwards? O, ſir! ſaid the old pilot, there is no need to make a formal buſineſs of it with ſuch rogues as thoſe; let them tie them back to back, and ſet them a diving; it is no more than they rightly deſerve.

I knew I had my old man faſt on board, and that he could do me no harm; ſo that I turned ſhort upon him; well, now, ſeignior, ſaid I, and this is the very reaſon why I would have you to carry us to *Nanquin*, and not to put back to *Macoa*, or to any other part of the country, where the *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhip comes; for, bet it known to you, ſeignior, thoſe captains of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, are a parcel of raſh, proud, inſolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to juſtice, or how to behave themſelves, as the laws of God and nature direct; but, being proud of their offices, and not underſtanding their power, they would act the murderers to puniſh robbers; would

take upon them to inſult men falſly accuſed, and determine them guilty without due inquiry; and perhaps, I may live to call ſome of them to an account for it, where they may be taught how juſtice is to be executed; and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal, till ſome evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man.

With this I told him, that this was the very ſhip they had attacked; and gave him a full account of the ſkirmiſh we had with their boats, and how fooliſhly and coward-like they had behaved. I told him all the ſtory of our buying the ſhip, and how the *Dutchmen* ſerved us. I told him the reaſons I had to believe, that this ſtory of killing the maſter, by the *Malaccans*, was not true; as alſo the running away with the ſhip; but that is was all a fiction of their own, to ſuggeſt that the men were turned pirates; and they ought to have been ſure it was ſo, before they had ventured to attack us by ſurpriſe, and oblige us to reſiſt them; adding, that they would have the blood of thoſe men, who were killed there, in our juſt defence, to anſwer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation; and told us, we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that if he might adviſe us, it ſhould be to ſell the ſhip in *China*, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country: And, ſaid he, though you will not get ſo good a ſhip, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to *Bengal*, or any where elſe.

I told him, I would take his advice, when I came to

any port where I could find a ſhip for my turn, or get any cuſtomer to buy this. He replied, I ſhould meet with cuſtomers enough for the ſhip at *Nanquin*, and that a *Chineſe* junk would ſerve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy the one, and ſell the other,

Well, but, ſeignior, ſays I, as you ſay they know the ſhip ſo well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your meaſures, be inſtrumental to bring ſome honeſt innocent men into a terrible broil, and, perhaps, be murdered in cold blood; for where-ever they find the ſhip, they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ſhip; and ſo innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered. Why, ſaid the old man, I'll find out a way to prevent that alſo; for as I know all thoſe commanders you ſpeak of very well, and ſhall ſee them all as they paſs by, I will be ſure to ſet them to rights in the thing, and let them know, that they had been ſo much in the wrong, that though the people who were on board at firſt, might run away with the ſhip, yet it was not true, that they had turned pirates; and in particular, thoſe were not the men that firſt went off with the ſhip, but innocently bought her for their trade; and I am perſuaded they will ſo far believe me, as, at leaſt, to act more cautiouſly for the time to come. Well, ſaid I, and will you deliver one meſſage to them from me? Yes, I will, ſays he, if you will give it under your hand, in writing, that I may be able to prove it came from you, and not out of my own head. I anſwered, that I would readily give it him under my hand. So I took a pen, and ink, and paper, and wrote at large the ſtory of aſſaulting me with

the long-boats, *&c.* the pretended reaſon of it, and the unjuſt cruel deſign of it; and concluded to the commanders, that they had done what they not only ſhould have been aſhamed of, but alſo, that if ever they came to *England*, and I lived to ſee them there, they ſhould all pay dearly for it, if the laws of my country were not grown out of uſe before I arrived there.

My old pilot read this over and over again, and aſked me ſeveral times, if I would ſtand to it. I anſwered, I would ſtand to it as long as I had any thing left in the world; being ſenſible that I ſhould, one time or other, find an opportunity to put it home to them. But we had no occaſion ever to let the pilot carry this letter; for he never went back again. While thoſe things were paſſing between us, by way of diſcourſe, we went forward directly for *Nanquin*, and, in about thirteen days ſail, came to an anchor at the ſouth weſt point of the great gulph of *Nanquin*; where, by the way, I came by accident to underſtand, that the two *Dutch* ſhips were gone that length before me, and that I ſhould certainly fall into their hands. I conſulted my partner, again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loſs as I was, and would very gladly have been ſafe on ſhore almoſt any-where. However, I was not in ſuch perplexity neither, but I aſked the old pilot, if there was no creek, or harbour, which I might put into, and purſue my buſineſs with the *Chineſe* privately, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me, if I would ſail to the ſouthward about two-and-forty leagues, there was a little port called *Quinchang*, where the fathers of the miſſion uſually landed from *Macao*,

on their progreſs to teach the chriſtian religion to the *Chineſe*, and where no *European* ſhips ever put in; and, if I thought proper to put in there, I might conſider what farther courſe to take when I was on ſhore. He confeſſed, he ſaid, it was not a place for merchants, except that at ſome certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from *Japan* came over thither to buy the *Chineſe* merchandizes.

We all agreed to go back to this place; the name of the port, as he called it, I may, perhaps ſpell wrong; for I do not particularly remember it, having loſt this together with the names of many other places ſet down in a little pocket-book, which was ſpoiled by the water, on an accident which I ſhall relate in its order; but this I remember, that the *Chineſe* or *Japaneſe* merchants we correſpond with, call it by a different name from that which our *Portugueſe* pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above, *Quinchang*.

As we were unanimous in our reſolution to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on ſhore, where we were to get freſh water; on both which occaſions, the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to ſell to us; I mean of proviſions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and ſome fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days; but it was very much to our ſatisfaction; and, I was joyful, and, I may ſay, thankful, when I ſet my foot ſafe on ſhore; reſolving, and my partner too, that if it was poſſible to diſpoſe of our-

ſelves and effects any other way, though not every way to our ſatisfaction, we would never ſet one foot on board that unhappy veſſel more; and, indeed, I muſt acknowledge, that of all the circumſtances of life, that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind ſo completely miſerable, as that of being in conſtant fear. Well does the ſcripture ſay, *the fear of man brings a ſnare;* it is a life of death; and the mind is ſo entirely ſuppreſſed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal ſpirits ſink, and all the vigour of nature, which uſually ſupports men under other afflictions, and is preſent to them in the greateſt exigences, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its uſual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger; repreſenting the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* captains to be men uncapable of hearing reaſon, or diſtinguiſhing between honeſt men and rogues; or between a ſtory calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpoſe to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progreſs, and deſign; for we might many ways have convinced any reaſonable creature, that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the courſe we ſteered, our frankly ſhewing ourſelves, and entering into ſuch and ſuch ports; even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, ſhort proviſions; all theſe would have ſerved to convince any man, that we were no pirates. The opium, and other goods, we had on board, would make it appear the ſhip had been at *Bengal;* the *Dutchmen*, who, it was ſaid, had the names of all the men that were in the ſhip, might eaſily ſee, that we were a mix-

ture of *Engliſh*, *Portugueſe*, and *Indians*, and but two *Dutchmen* on board. Theſe, and many other particular circumſtances, might have made it evident to the underſtanding of any commander, whoſe hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind, uſeleſs paſſion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our underſtandings, and ſet the imagination at work, to form a thouſand terrible things, that, perhaps, might never happen; we firſt ſuppoſed, as, indeed, every body had related to us, that the ſeamen on board the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, but eſpecially the *Dutch*, were ſo enraged at the name of a pirate, and eſpecially at our beating off their boats, and eſcaping, that they would not give themſelves leave to inquire, whether we were pirates or no; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected, that there was really ſo much apparent evidence before them, that they would ſcarce inquire after any more; as, firſt, that the ſhip was certainly the ſame, and that ſome of the ſeamen among them knew her, and had been on board her; and, ſecondly, that when we had intelligence at the river *Cambodia*, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats, and fled; ſo that we made no doubt but they were as fully ſatisfied of our being pirates, as we were ſatisfied of the contrary; and I often ſaid, I knew not but I ſhould have been apt to have taken the like circumſtances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my caſe was theirs; and have made no ſcruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without

believing, or, perhaps, conſidering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, thoſe were our apprehenſions; and both my partner and I too, ſcarce ſlept a night without dreaming of halters, and yard-arms; that is to ſay, gibbets; of fighting, and being taken; of killing, and being killed; and one night I was in ſuch a fury in my dream, fancying the *Dutchmen* had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their ſeamen down, that I ſtruck my double fiſt againſt the ſide of the cabin I lay in, with ſuch a force as wounded my hand moſt grievouſly, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruiſed the fleſh; ſo that it not only waked me out of my ſleep, but I was once afraid I ſhould have loſt two of my fingers.

Another apprehenſion I had, was, of the cruel uſage we ſhould meet with from them, if we fell into their hands: Then the ſtory of *Amboyna* came into my head, and how the *Dutch* might, perhaps, torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make ſome of our men, by extremity of torture, confeſs thoſe crimes they never were guilty of; own themſelves, and all of us, to be pirates; and ſo they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of juſtice; and that they might be tempted to do this, for the gain of our ſhip and cargo, which was worth four or five thouſand pounds, put all together.

Theſe things tormented me, and my partner too, night and day; nor did we conſider, that the captains of ſhips have no authority to act thus; and if we had ſurrendered priſoners to them, they could not anſwer the deſtroying us, or torturing us, but would

be accountable for it when they came into their own country, This, I ſay, gave me no ſatisfaction; for, if they will act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us, that they would be called to an account for it; or, if we were firſt to be murdered, what ſatisfaction would it be to us, to have them puniſhed when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here, what reflections I now had, upon the paſt variety of my particular circumſtances; how hard I thought it was, that I, who had ſpent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was, at laſt, come, as it were, at the port or haven which all men drive at, *viz.* to have reſt and plenty, ſhould be a volunteer in new ſorrows, by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who had eſcaped ſo many dangers in my youth, ſhould now come to be hanged in my old age, and in ſo remote a place, for a crime I was not in the leaſt inclined to, much leſs guilty of; and in a place and circumſtance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After theſe thoughts, ſomething of religion would come in; and I would be conſidering, that this ſeemed to me to be a diſpoſition of immediate providence; and I ought to look upon it, and ſubmit to it, as ſuch; that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my maker; and I ought to look in, and examine what other crimes in my life were moſt obvious to me, and for which providence might juſtly inflict this puniſhment as a retribution; and that I ought to ſubmit to this, juſt as I would to a

ſhipwreck, if it had pleaſed God to have brought ſuch a diſaſter upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would ſometimes take its place; and then I would be talking myſelf up to vigorous reſolutions, that I would not be taken, to be barbarouſly uſed by a parcel of mercileſs wretches in cold blood; that it was much better to have fallen into the hands of the ſavages, who were men-eaters, and who, I was ſure, would feaſt upon me, when they had taken me, than by thoſe, who would perhaps, glut their rage upon me, by inhuman tortures and barbarities; that, in the caſe of the ſavages, I always reſolved to die fighting, to the laſt gaſp; and why ſhould I not do ſo now, ſeeing it was much more dreadful, to me at leaſt, to think of falling into theſe men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men: For the ſavages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead; and killed him firſt, as we do a bullock; but that theſe men had many arts, beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever theſe thoughts prevailed, I was ſure to put myſelf into a kind of fever, with the agitations of a ſuppoſed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes ſparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always reſolved, that I would take no quarter at their hands; but even at laſt, if I could reſiſt no longer, I would blow up the ſhip, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boaſt of.

But how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of theſe things were to our thoughts while we were at ſea, by ſo much the greater was our ſatisfaction, when we ſaw ourſelves on ſhore; and my partner told me, he dreamed, that he had a very

heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up an hill, and found that he was not able to ſtand long under it; but the *Portugueſe* pilot came, and took it off his back, and the hill diſappeared, the ground before him ſhewing all ſmooth and plain: And truly it was ſo; we were all like men who had a load taken off their backs.

For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that I was not able any longer to bear; and, as I ſaid above, we reſolved to go no more to ſea in that ſhip. When we came on ſhore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouſe for our goods, which, by the way, was much the ſame; it was a little houſe or hut, with a large houſe joining to it, all built with canes, and paliſadoed round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which it ſeems there were not a few in the country. However, the magiſtrates allowed us alſo a little guard, and we had a ſoldier with a kind of halbert, or half-pike, who ſtood centinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of three pence *per* day, ſo that our goods were kept very ſafe.

The fair or mart, uſually kept in this place, had been over ſome time; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two *Japaners*, I mean, ſhips from *Japan*, with goods which they had bought in *China*, and were not gone away, having *Japaneſe* merchants on ſhore.

The firſt thing our old *Portugueſe* pilot did for us, was, to bring us acquainted with three miſſionary *Romiſh* prieſts, who were in the town, and who had

been there ſome time, converting the people to chriſtianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it; and made them but ſorry chriſtians when they had done. However, that was not our buſineſs. One of theſe was a *Frenchman*, whom they called father *Simon*; he was a jolly well-conditioned man, very free in his converſation, not ſeeming ſo ſerious and grave as the other two did; one of whom was a *Portugueſe*, and the other a *Genoeſe*; but father *Simon* was courteous, eaſy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reſerved, ſeemed rigid and auſtere, and applied ſeriouſly to the work they came about, *viz.* to talk with, and inſinuate themſelves among the inhabitants, where ever they had opportunity: We often eat and drank with thoſe men: And tho' I muſt confeſs, the converſion, as they call it, of the *Chineſe* to chriſtianity, is ſo far from the true converſion required, to bring heathen people to the faith of Chriſt, that it ſeems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Chriſt, ſay ſome prayers to the virgin *Mary*, and her ſon, in a tongue which they underſtand not, and to croſs themſelves, and the like; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe religious, whom we call miſſionaries, have a firm belief that theſe people ſhall be ſaved, and that they are the inſtrument of it; and, on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and hazards of living in ſuch places, but oftentimes death itſelf, with the moſt violent tortures, for the ſake of this work; and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itſelf, and the manner of their doing it, if we ſhould not have a good opinion of

their zeal, who undertake it with ſo many hazards, and who have no proſpect of the leaſt temporal advantage to themſelves.

But to return to my ſtory: This *French* prieſt, father *Simon*, was appointed, it ſeems, by order of the chief of the miſſion, to go up to *Pekin*, the royal ſeat of the *Chineſe* emperor; and waited only for another prieſt, who was ordered to come to him from *Macao*, to go along with him; and we ſcarce ever met together, but he was inviting me to go that journey with him, telling me, how he would ſhew me all the glorious things of that mighty empire; and among the reſt, the greateſt city in the world; a city, ſaid he, that your *London*, and our *Paris*, put together, cannot be equal to. This was the city of *Pekin*, which, I confeſs, is very great, and infinitely full of people; but, as I looked on thoſe things with different eyes from other men, ſo I ſhall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come, in the courſe of my travels, to ſpeak more particularly of them.

But firſt, I come to my friar, or miſſionary: dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I ſhewed ſome little inclination to go with him; and he preſſed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many perſuaſions to conſent. Why, father *Simon*, ſays my partner, why ſhould you deſire our company ſo much? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor can keep us company with any pleaſure. O! ſays he, you may, perhaps, be good catholics in time; my buſineſs here is to convert heathens; and who knows but I may convert you too? Very well, father, ſaid I, ſo you will preach to us all the

way. I won't be troubleſome to you, ſaid he; our religion does not diveſt us of good manners; beſides, ſaid he, we are here like countrymen; and ſo we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are hugonots, and I a catholic, we may be all chriſtians at at laſt; at leaſt, ſaid he, we are all gentlemen, and we may converſe ſo, without being uneaſy to one another. I liked that part of his diſcourſe very well, and it began to put me in mind of my prieſt that I had left in the *Braſils*; but this father *Simon* did not come up to his character by a great deal; for though father *Simon* had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of chriſtian zeal, ſtrict piety, and ſincere affection tō religion, that my other good eccleſiaſtic had, of whom I have ſaid ſo much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor ſoliciting us to go with him, but we had ſomething elſe before us at that time; for we had, all this while, our ſhip and our merchandize to diſpoſe of; and we began to be very doubtful what we ſhould do, for we were now in a place of very little buſineſs; and once I was about to venture to ſail for the river of *Kilam*, and the city of *Nanquin*: But providence ſeemed now more viſibly, as I thought, than ever, to concern itſelf in our affairs; and I was encouraged from this very time to think, I ſhould, one way or other, get out of this entangled circumſtance, and be brought home to my own country again; though I had not the leaſt view of the manner; and when I began ſometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done. Providence, I ſay, began here to clear

up our way a little; and the firſt thing that offered was, that our old *Portugueſe* pilot brought a *Japan* merchant to us, who began to enquire what goods we had; and, in the firſt place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, ſome in ſmall pieces of their own coin, and ſome in ſmall wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head, that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ſhip too; and I ordered the interpreter to propoſe it to him. He ſhrunk up his ſhoulders at it, when it was firſt propoſed to him; but, in a few days after, he came to me, with one of the miſſionary prieſts for his interpreter, and told me, he had a propoſal to make to me, and that it was this; he had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts (or propoſals made to him) of buying the ſhip; and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ſhip; but if I would let the ſame men who were in the ſhip navigate her, he would hire the ſhip to go to *Japan*, and would ſend them from thence to the *Philippine* iſlands, with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from *Japan*; and that, at their return, he would buy the ſhip. I began to liſten to this propoſal, and ſo eager did my head ſtill run upon rambling that I could not but begin to entertain a notion myſelf of going with him, and ſo to ſail from the *Philippine* iſlands aways to the *South Seas*; and accordingly I aſked the *Japaneſe* merchant, if he would not hire us to the *Philippine* iſlands, and diſcharge us there. He ſaid, no, he could not do that; for then he could not

have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in *Japan*, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas, as of the *Japaneſe*, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the *Spaniards* at the *Philippines*; more false, more cruel, more treacherous, than they.

But to bring this long turn of our affairs to a concluſion; the firſt thing we had to do, was, to conſult with the captain of the ſhip, and with the men, and know if they were willing to go to *Japan*; and, while I was doing this, the young man, whom, as I ſaid, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me, and told me, that he thought that voyage promiſed very fair, and that there was a great proſpect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleaſed to order him; that if ever he came to *England*, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his ſucceſs, and it ſhould be as much mine as I pleaſed.

I was really loth to part with him; but, conſidering the proſpect of advantage, which was really conſiderable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but, firſt, I told him I would conſult my partner, and give him an anſwer the next day. My partner and I diſcourſed about it; and my partner made a moſt generous offer: He told me, you know it has been an un-

lucky ſhip, and we both reſolve not to go to ſea in it again: if your ſteward (ſo he called my man) will venture the voyage, I'll leave my ſhare of the veſſel to him, and let him make the beſt of it; and if we live to meet in *England*, and he meets with ſucceſs abroad, he ſhall account for one half of the profits of the ſhip's freight to us, the other ſhall be his own.

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him ſuch an offer, I could do no leſs than offer him the ſame; and all the ſhip's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ſhip to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to *Japan*. The *Japan* merchant proved a very punctual honeſt man to him, protected him at *Japan*, and got him a licence to come on ſhore, which the *Europeans* in general have not lately obtained; paid him his freight very punctually, ſent him to the *Philippines*, loaded with *Japan* and *China* wares, and a ſupercargo of their own, who trafficking with the *Spaniards*, brought back *European* goods again, and a great quantity of cloves, and other ſpices; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but, being not willing to ſell the ſhip then, the merchant furniſhed him with goods on his own account; that, for ſome money, and ſome ſpices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the *Manillas*, to the *Spaniards*, where he ſold his cargo very well. Here, having gotten a good acquaintance at *Manilla*, he got his ſhip made a free ſhip; and the governor of *Manilla* hired him to go to

*Acapulco* in *America*, on the coaſt of *Mexico*; and gave him a licence to land there, and travel to *Mexico*; and to paſs in any *Spaniſh* ſhip to *Europe*, with all his men.

He made the voyage to *Acapulco* very happily, and there he ſold his ſhip; and having there alſo obtained allowance to travel by land to *Porto Bello*, he found means, ſome how or other, to go to *Jamaica* with all his treaſure; and, about eight years after, came to *England* exceeding rich; of which I ſhall take notice in its place; in the mean time, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ſhip, and ſhip's company, it came before us, of courſe, to conſider what recompence we ſhould give to the two men, that gave us ſuch timely notice of the deſign againſt us in the river of *Cambodia*. The truth was, they had done us a conſiderable ſervice, and deſerved well at our hands; though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too; for, as they believed the ſtory of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ſhip, they came down to us, not only to betray the deſign that was formed againſt us, but to go to ſea with us as pirates; and one of them confeſſed afterwards, that nothing elſe but the hopes of going a roguing, brought him to do it. However, the ſervice they did us was not the leſs; and therefore, as I had promiſed to be grateful to them, I firſt ordered the money to be paid to them, which they ſaid was due to them on board their reſpective ſhips; that is to ſay, the *Engliſhman* nineteen months pay, and to the *Dutchman* ſeven; and, over and above that, I gave

each of them a ſmall ſum of money in gold, which contented them very well; then I made the *Engliſhman* gunner in the ſhip, the gunner being now made ſecond mate and purſer; the *Dutchman* I made boatſwain; ſo they were both very well pleaſed, and proved very ſerviceable, being both able ſeamen, and very ſtout fellows.

We were now on ſhore in *China*. If I thought myſelf baniſhed, and remote from my own country, at *Bengal*, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myſelf now, when I was gotten about a thouſand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly deſtitute of all manner of proſpect of return!

All we had for it was this; that in about four months time there was to be another fair at that place where we were, and then we might be able to purchaſe all ſorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might poſſibly find ſome *Chineſe* junks or veſſels from *Nanquin*, that would be to be ſold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleaſed. This I liked very well, and reſolved to wait; beſides, as our particular perſons were not obnoxious, ſo if any *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhips came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get paſſage to ſome other place in *India* nearer home.

Upon theſe hopes we reſolved to continue here, but, to divert ourſelves, we took two or three journies into the country; firſt we went ten days journey to ſee the city of *Nanquin*, a city well worth ſeeing indeed; they ſay it has a million of people in it;

which, however, I do not believe; it is regularly built, the ſtreets all exactly ſtrait, and croſs one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage.

But when I came to compare the miſerable people of theſe countries with ours; their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory (as ſome call it) I muſt confeſs, I do not ſo much as think it worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that ſhall come after me to read.

It is very obſervable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and the conduct of theſe people; not that it is to be wondered at, or indeed, in the leaſt to be regarded; but becauſe, having firſt a notion of the barbarity of thoſe countries, the rudeneſs, and the ignorance that prevail there, we do not expect to find any ſuch things ſo far off.

Otherwiſe, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of *Europe?* What their trade, to the univerſal commerce of *England, Holland, France,* and *Spain?* What their cities to ours, for wealth, ſtrength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and an infinite variety? What are their ports, ſupplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchant's fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of *London* has more trade than all their mighty empire. One *Engliſh,* or *Dutch,* or *French* man of war of 80 guns, would fight with, and deſtory all the ſhipping of *China.* But the greatneſs of their wealth, their

trade, the power of their government, and ſtrength of their armies, is ſurpriſing to us, becauſe, as I have ſaid, conſidering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than ſavages, we did not expect ſuch things among them; and this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatneſs and power is repreſented to us; otherwiſe it is in itſelf nothing at all; for, as I have ſaid of their ſhips, ſo it may be ſaid of their armies and troops; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and ſtarve themſelves. If they were to beſiege a ſtrong town in *Flanders*, or to fight a diſciplined army, one line of *German* cuiraſſiers, or of *French* cavalry, would overthrow all the horſe of *China*; a million of their foot could not ſtand before one embattled body of our infantry, poſted ſo as not to be ſurrounded, though they were not to be one to twenty in number; nay, I do not boaſt, if I ſay, that 30,000 *German* or *Engliſh* foot, and 10,000 *French* horſe, would fairly beat all the forces of *China*. And ſo of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers, in aſſaulting and defending towns; there is not a fortified town in *China* could hold out one month againſt the batteries and attacks of an *European* army; and at the ſame time, all the armies of *China* could never take ſuch a town as *Dunkirk*, provided it was not ſtarved; no, not in ten years ſiege. They have firearms, it is true; but they are aukward, clumſy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no ſtrength; they have neither diſcipline in the field, exerciſe to their arms, ſkill to attack, or temper to re-

treat; and therefore I muſt confeſs, it ſeemed ſtrange to me, when I came home, and heard our people ſay ſuch fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the *Chineſe*, becauſe I ſaw and knew, that they were a contemptible herd or croud of ignorant ſordid ſlaves, ſubjected to a government qualified only to rule ſuch a people; and, in a word, for I am now launched quite beſide my deſign, I ſay, in a word, were not its diſtance inconceivably great from *Muſcovy*, and were not the *Muſcovite* empire almoſt as rude, impotent, and ill governed a croud of ſlaves as they, the czar of *Muſcovy* might, with much eaſe, drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign; and had the czar, who I ſince hear isgrowing a great prince, and begins to appear formidablein the world, fallen this way, inſtead of attacking the warlike *Swedes*, in which attempt none of the powers of *Europe* would have envied or interrupted him; he might, by this time, have been emperor of *China*, inſtead of being beaten by the king of *Sweden* at *Narva*, when the latter was not one to ſix in number. As their ſtrength and their grandeur, ſo their navigation, commerce, and husbandry, is imperfect and impotent, compared to the ſame things in *Europe*; alſo in their knowledge, their learning, their ſkill in the ſciences, they have globes and ſpheres, and a ſmatch of the knowledge of the mathematics; but when you come to enquire into their knowledge, how ſhort-ſighted are the wiſeſt of their ſtudents! they know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and ſo groſly, abſurdly ignorant, that when the ſun is eclipſed, they think it is a great dragon has aſſaulted and run away with it, and

they fall a clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monſter away, juſt as we do to hive a ſwarm of bees.

As this is the only excurſion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, ſo I ſhall make no more deſcriptions of countries and people; it is none of my buſineſs, or any part of my deſign; but, giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of inimitable wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps, few have heard the like of, I ſhall ſay nothing of the mighty places, deſart countries, and numerous people, I have yet to paſs through, more than relates to my own ſtory, and which my concern among them will make neceſſary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of *China*, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from *Nanquin*; I had indeed a mind to ſee the city of *Pekin*, which I had heard ſo much of, and father *Simon* importuned me daily to do it; at length his time of going away being ſet, and the other miſſionary, who was to go with him, being arrived from *Macao*, it was neceſſary, that we ſhould reſolve either to go, or not to go; ſo I referred him to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice; who, at length, reſolved it in the affirmative; and we prepared for our journey. We ſet out with very good advantage, as to finding the way; for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their mandarins, a kind of viceroy, or principal magiſtrate, in the province where they reſide, and who take great ſtate upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people,

who are ſometimes greatly impoveriſhed by them, becauſe all the countries they paſs through are obliged to furniſh proviſions for them, and all their attendants. That which I particularly obſerved, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this; that though we received ſufficient proviſions, both for ourſelves and our horſes, from the country, as belonging to the mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for every thing we had, after the market price of the country, and the mandarin's ſteward, or commiſſiary of the proviſions, collected it duly from us, ſo that our travelling in the retinue of the mandarin, though it was a very great kindneſs to us, was not ſuch a mighty favour in him, but was, indeed, a great advantage to him, conſidering there were about thirty other people travelling in the ſame manner beſides us, under the protection of his retinue, or, as we may call it, under his convoy. This, I ſay, was a great advantage to him, for the country furniſhed all the proviſions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five-and-twenty days travelling to *Pekin*, through a country infinitely populous, but miſerably cultivated, the husbandry, oeconomy, and the way of living, all very miſerable, though they boaſt ſo much of the induſtry of the people; I ſay, miſerable; and ſo it is, if we, who underſtand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own, but not ſo to theſe poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of theſe people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their miſery. I muſt needs think the naked ſavages of *America* live much more happy, becauſe, as

they have nothing, ſo they deſire nothing; whereas theſe are proud and inſolent, and, in the main, are mere beggars and drudges; their oſtentation is inexpreſſible, and is chiefly ſhewed in their cloaths and buildings, and in the keeping multitudes of ſervants or ſlaves, and, which is to the laſt degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themſelves.

I muſt confeſs, I travelled more pleaſantly afterwards in the deſarts and vaſt wilderneſſes of *Grand Tartary*, than here; and yet the roads here are well parved and well kept, and very convenient for travellers; but nothing was more aukward to me, than to ſee ſuch an haughty, imperious, inſolent people, in the midſt of the groſſeſt ſimplicity and ignorance; for all their famed ingenuity is no more. My friend, father *Simon*, and I, uſed to be very merry upon theſe occaſions, to ſee the beggarly pride of thoſe people; for example, coming by the houſe of a country gentleman, as father *Simon* called him, about ten leagues off from the city of *Nanquin*, we had, firſt of all, the honour to ride with the maſter of the houſe, about two miles; the ſtate he rode in, was a perfect don *Quixotiſm*, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greaſy don was very proper for a ſcaramouch, or merry-andrew; being a dirty callico, with all the tawdry trappings of a fool's coat, ſuch as hanging ſleeves, taffety, and cuts and ſlaſhes almoſt on every ſide; it covered a rich taffety veſt, as greaſy as a butcher, and which teſtified, that his honour muſt needs be a moſt exquiſite ſloven.

His horſe was a poor, lean, ſtarved, hobbling crea-

ture, ſuch as in *England* might ſell for about thirty or forty ſhillings; and he had two ſlaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along; he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beaſt as faſt about the head as his ſlaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve ſervants, and we were told he was going from the city to his country-ſeat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us; and as we ſtopped at a village about an hour to refreſh us, when we came by the country-ſeat of this great man, we ſaw him in a little place before his door, eating his repaſt; it was a kind of a garden, but he was eaſy to be ſeen, and we were given to underſtand, that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleaſed.

He ſat under a tree, ſomething like the palmetto-tree, which effectually ſhaded him over the head, and on the ſouth-ſide; but under the tree alſo was placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough; he ſat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy corpulent man, and his meat being brought him by two women ſlaves; he had two more, whoſe office, I think, few gentlemen in *Europe* would accept of their ſervice in, *viz.* one fed the ſquire with a ſpoon, and the other held the diſh with one hand, and ſcraped off what he let fall upon his worſhip's beard, and taffety veſt, with the other; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of thoſe familiar offices, which kings and monarchs would rather do, than be troubled with the clumſy fingers of their ſervants.

I took this time to think what pain men's pride puts them to; and how troubleſome a haughty temper, thus ill managed, muſt be to a man of common ſenſe; and, leaving the poor wretch to pleaſe himſelf with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we purſued our journey; only father *Simon* had the curioſity to ſtay to inform himſelf what dainties the country juſtice had to feed on, in all his ſtate: which, he ſaid he had the honour to taſte of, and which was, I think, a doſe that an *Engliſh* hound would ſcarce have eaten, if it had been offered him, *viz.* a meſs of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlick in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, ſomething like our ginger, but ſmelling like muſk, and taſting like muſtard; all this was put together, and a ſmall lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worſhip's repaſt, four or five ſervants more attending at a diſtance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himſelf, the ſpice excepted, they muſt fare very coarſely indeed.

As for our mandarin, with whom we travelled, he was reſpected like a king; ſurrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with ſuch pomp, that I ſaw little of him but at a diſtance; but this I obſerved, that there was not a horſe in his retiune, but that our carriers pack-horſes in *England* ſeem to me to look much better; but they were ſo covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, and ſuch-like trumpery, that you cannot ſee whether they are fat or lean. In a word, we could ſcarce ſee any thing but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and

perpelxity that I have given an account of being over, I had no anxious thoughts about me; which made this journey much the pleaſanter to me; nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the paſſing or fording a ſmall river, my horſe fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it; that is to ſay, threw me in; the place was not deep, but it wetted me all over: I mention it, becauſe it ſpoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had ſet down the names of ſeveral people and places which I had occaſion to remember, and which not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loſs, as to the names of ſome places which I touched at in this voyage,

At length we arrived at *Pekin*; I had nobody with me but the youth, whom my nephew the captain had given me to attend me as a ſervant, and who proved very truſty and diligent; and my partner, had nobody with him but one ſervant, who was a kinſman. As for the *Portugueſe* pilot, he being deſirous to ſee the court, we gave him his paſſage, that is to ſay, bore his charges for his company; and to uſe him as an interpreter, for he underſtood the language of the country, and ſpoke good *French*, and a little *Engliſh*; and, indeed, this old man was a moſt uſeful implement to us every where; for we had not been above a week at *Pekin*, when he came laughing: Ah, ſeignior *Ingleſe*, ſaid he, I have ſomething to tell you, will make your heart glad. My heart glad! ſaid I: What can that be? I don't know any thing in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree. Yes, yes, ſaid the old man, in broken *Engliſh*, make you

glad, me ſorrow; ſorry he would have ſaid. This made me more inquiſitive. Why, ſaid I, will it make you ſorry? Becauſe, ſaid he, you have brought me here twenty-five days journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and which way ſhall I get to my port afterwards, without a ſhip, without a horſe, without *Pecune?* So he called money; being his broken *Latin*, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In ſhort, he told us there was a great caravan of *Muſcovite* and *Poliſh* merchants in the city, and they were preparing to ſet out on their journey, by land, to *Muſcovy*, within four or five weeks, and he was ſure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back all alone. I confeſs, I was ſurpriſed with this news; a ſecret joy ſpread itſelf over my whole ſoul, which I cannot deſcribe, and never felt before or ſince; and I had no power, for a good while, to ſpeak a word to the old man; but at laſt I turned to him: How do you know this? ſaid I: Are you ſure it is true? Yes, ſaid he, I met this morning, in the ſtreet, an old acquaintance of mine, an *Armenian*, or one you call a *Grecian*, who is among them; he came laſt from *Aſtracan*, and was deſigning to go to *Tonquin*, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now reſolved to go back with the caravan to *Moſcow*, and ſo down the river of *Wolga* to *Aſtracan*. Well, ſeignior, ſaid I, do not be uneaſy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to *England*, it ſhall be your fault, if you go back to *Macao*, at all. We then went to conſulting together what was to be done, and aſked my

partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would ſuit with his affairs? He told me, he would do juſt as I would; for he had ſettled all his affairs ſo well at *Bengal*, and left his effects in ſuch good hands, that as we had made a good voyage here, if he could veſt it in *China* ſilks, wrought and raw, ſuch as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to *England*, and then make his voyage back to *Bengal* by the company's ſhips.

Having reſolved upon this, we agreed, that if our *Portugueſe* pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to *Moſcow*, or to *England*, if he pleaſed; nor, indeed, were we to be eſteemed over generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther; for the ſervice he had done us was really worth all that, and more; for he had not only been a pilot to us at ſea, but he had been alſo like a broker for us on ſhore; and his procuring for us the *Japan* merchant, was ſome hundreds of pounds in our pockets. So we conſulted together about it; and, being willing to gratify him, which was, indeed, but doing him juſtice, and very willing alſo to have him with us beſides, we for he was a moſt neceſſary man on all occaſions, agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about 275 pounds ſterling between us, and to bear his charges, both for himſelf and horſe, except only a horſe to carry his goods.

Having ſettled this among ourſelves, we called him, to let him know what we had reſolved; I told him, he had complained of our being like to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were reſolved he ſhould not go back at all; That as we had reſolved to

go to *Europe* with the caravan, we reſolved alſo he ſhould go with us, and that we called him to know his mind. He ſhook his head, and ſaid, it was a long journey, and he had no *Pecune* to carry him thither, nor to ſubſiſt himſelf when he came thither. We told him, we believe in was ſo, and therefore we had reſolved to do ſomething for him, that ſhould let him ſee how ſenſible we were of the ſervice he had done us; and alſo how agreeable he was to us: And then I told him what we had reſolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we would do our own; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would ſet him ſafe aſhore, (life and caſualties excepted) either in *Muſcovy* or *England*, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods.

He recieved the propoſal like a man tranſported, and told us, he would go with us over the whole world; and ſo, in ſhort, we all prepared ourſelves for the journey. However, as it was with us, ſo it was with the other merchants, they had many things to do; and inſtead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and ſome odd days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of *February*, our ſtyle, when we ſet out from *Pekin;* my partner and the old pilot had gone expreſs back to the port where we had firſt put in, to diſpoſe of ſome goods which we had left there; and I, with a *Chineſe* merchant, whom I had ſome knowledge of at *Nanquin*, and who came to *Pekin* on his own affairs, went to *Nanquin*, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damaſks, with about two

hundred pieces of other very fine ſilks, of ſeveral ſorts; ſome mixed with gold, and had all theſe brought to *Pekin* againſt my partner's return; beſides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw ſilk, and ſome other goods; our cargo amounting, in theſe goods only, to about three thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, which, together with tea, and ſome fine callicoes, and three camel-loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our ſhare, beſides thoſe we rode upon; which, with two or three ſpare horſes, and two horſes loaded with proviſions, made us, in ſhort, twenty-ſix camels and horſes in our retiune.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horſes and camels, and upward of an hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. For, as the eaſtern caravans are ſubject to be attacked by the *Arabs*, ſo are theſe by the *Tartars*; but they are not altogether ſo dangerous as the *Arabs*, nor ſo barbarous when they prevail.

The company conſiſted of people of ſeveral nations, ſuch as *Muſcovites* chiefly; for there were above ſixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of *Moſcow*, though of them ſome were *Livonians*, and to our particular ſatisfaction, five of them were *Scots*, who appeared alſo to be men of great experience in buſineſs, and of very good ſubſtance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants; that is to ſay, all the paſſengers, except the ſervants, to a great council, as they termed

it. At this great council every one depoſited a certain quantity of money in a common ſtock, for the neceſſary expence by buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwiſe to be had, and for ſatisfying the guides, getting horſes and the like. And here they conſtituted the journey, as they called it, *viz.* They named captains or officers to draw us all up, and give the command in caſe of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command. Nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as ſhall be obſerved in its place.

The road all on this ſide of the country is very populous, and is full of potters, and earth-makers, that is to ſay, people that tempered the earth for the *China* wares; and, as I was going along, our *Portugueſe* pilot, who had always ſomething or other to ſay to make us merry, came ſneering to us, and told me, he would ſhew me the greateſt rarity in the all country; and that I ſhould have this to ſay of *China*, after all the ill-humoured things I had ſaid of it, that I had ſeen one thing which was not to be ſeen in all the world beſide. I was very improtunate to know what it was; at laſt he told me, it was a gentleman's houſe, built all with *China* ware. Well, ſaid I, are not the materials of their buildings the product of their own country; and ſo it is all *China* ware, is it not? no, no, ſays he, I mean it is a houſe all made of *China* ware, ſuch as you call ſo in *England*; or, as it is called in our country, *Porcelain*. Well, ſaid I, ſuch a thing may be: How big is it? Can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it. Upon a camel! ſaid

the old pilot, holding up both his hands; why there is a family of thirty people lives in it.

I was then curious, indeed, to ſee it; and when I came to it, it was nothing but this; it was a timber houſe, or a houſe built, as we call it in *England*, with lath and plaiſter, but all the plaiſtering was really *China* ware, that is to ſay, it was plaiſtered with the earth that makes *China* ware.

The outſide, which the ſun ſhone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large *China* ware in *England* is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt. As to the inſide, all the walls, inſtead of wainſcot, were lined up with hardened and painted tiles, like the little ſquare tiles we call gally-tiles in *England*, all made of the fineſt *China*, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined ſo artificially with mortar, being made of the ſame earth, that it was very hard to ſee where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the ſame compoſition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in uſe in ſeveral parts of *England*, eſpecially *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *&c.* as hard as ſtone, and ſmooth, but not burnt and painted, except ſome ſmaller rooms, like cloſets, which were all as it were paved with the ſame tile; the cielings, and in a word, all the plaiſtering-work in the whole houſe, were of the ſame earth, and, after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the ſame, but of a deep ſhining black.

This was a *China* ware houſe, indeed, truly and lit-

rally to be called ſo; and, had I not been upon the journey, I could have ſtayed ſome days to ſee and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fiſh-ponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and ſides with the ſame and fine ſtatues ſet up in rows on the walks, intirely formed of the *Porcelain* earth, and burnt whole.

As this is one of the ſingularities of *China*, ſo they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very ſure they excel in their accounts of it; for they told me ſuch incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for ſuch it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true: One told me, in particular, of a workman that made a ſhip, with all its tackle, and maſts, and ſails, in earthen-ware, big enough to carry fifty men. If he had told me, he launched it, and made a voyage to *Japan* in it, I might have ſaid ſomething to it indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole ſtory, which was, in ſhort, aſking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied; ſo I ſmiled, and ſaid nothing to it.

This odd ſight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day, fined me about the value of three ſhillings; and told me, if it had been three days journey without the wall, as it was three days within, he muſt have fined me four times as much, and made me aſk pardon the next council day; ſo I promiſed to be more orderly; for, indeed I found afterwards, the orders made for keeping all together, were abſolutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

In two days more we paſſed the great *China* wall,

made for a fortification againſt the *Tartars*; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in an endleſs track, where the rocks are impaſſable, and the precipices ſuch as no enemy could poſſibly enter, or, indeed, climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us, its length is near a thouſand *Engliſh* miles, but that the country is five hundred in a ſtrait meaſured line, which the wall bounds, without meaſuring the windings and turnings it takes; 'tis about four fathom high, and as many thick in ſome places.

I ſtood ſtill an hour, or thereabouts, without treſpaſſing on our orders, for ſo long the caravan was in paſſing the gate; I ſay I ſtood ſtill an hour to look at it on every ſide, near, and far off, I mean, what was within my view; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a moſt excellent thing to keep off the *Tartars*; which he happened not to underſtand as I meant it, and ſo took for a compliment; but the old pilot laugh'd; O Seignior *Ingleſe*, ſaid he, you ſpeak in colours. In colours! ſaid I: What do you mean by that? Why you ſpeak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another way; you tell him it is a good wall to keep out the *Tartars*; you tell me by that it is good for nothing but to keep out *Tartars*; or, it will keep out none but *Tartars*; I underſtand you, Seignior *Ingleſe*, I underſtand you, ſaid he, joking; but Seignior *Chineſe* underſtand you his own way.

Well, ſaid I, Seignior, do you think it would ſtand out an army of our country people, with a good train

of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would they not batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up in to the air, foundation and all, that there ſhould be no ſign of it left? Ay, ay, ſaid he, I know that. The *Chineſe* wanted mightily to know what I ſaid, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for we were then almoſt out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterwards; but when he knew what I had ſaid, he was dumb all the reſt of the way, and we heard no more of his fine ſtory of the *Chineſe* power and greatneſs, while he ſtayed.

After we had paſſed this mighty *nothing*, called a wall, ſomething like the *Picts* wall, ſo famous in *Northumberland*, and built by the *Romans*, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being ſubject to the inroads and depredations of the *Tartars*, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not be reſiſted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here we began to find the neceſſity of keeping together in a caravan, as we travelled; for we ſaw ſeveral troops of *Tartars* roving about; but when I came to ſee them diſtinctly, I wondered more that the *Chineſe* empire could be conquered by ſuch contemptible fellows; for they are a mere herd or croud of wild fellows, keeping no order, and underſtanding no diſcipline, or manner of fight.

Their horſes are poor, lean, ſtarved creatures, taught nothing, and are fit for nothing; and this we found the firſt day that we ſaw them, which was after

we entered the wilder part of the country; our leader for the day gave leave to about ſixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of ſheep! However it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildeſt, and ſwifteſt of foot, that ever I ſaw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are ſure of ſport when you begin the chace; for they appear generally by thirty or forty in a flock, and like true ſheep, always keep together when they fly.

In purſuit of this odd ſort of game, it was our luck to meet with about forty *Tartars*; whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as ſoon as they ſaw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a very barbarous ſound that I had never heard before; and, by the way never care to hear again. We all ſuppoſed this was to call their friends about them; and ſo it was; for in leſs than half a quarter of an hour, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile diſtance, but our work was over firſt, as it happened.

One of the *Scots* merchants of *Moſcow*, happened to be amongſt us; and ſoon as he heard the horn, he told us, in ſhort, that we had nothing to do, but to charge them immediately, without loſs of time, and, drawing us up in a line, he aſked if we were reſolved? We told him, we were ready to follow him: So he rode directly up to them. They ſtood gazing like a mere crowd drawn up in no order, nor ſhewing the face of any order at all; but as ſoon as they ſaw us advance, they let fly their arrows; which, however,

miſſed us very happily; it ſeems they miſtook not their aim, but their diſtance; for their arrows fell a little ſhort of us, but with ſo true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we muſt have had ſeveral men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted; and tho' it was at a great diſtance, we fired, and ſent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our ſhot full gallop, and reſolving to fall in among them ſword in hand; for ſo our bold *Scot* that led us directed. He was indeed but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occaſion, and yet with ſuch a cool courage too, that I never ſaw any man in action fitter for command. As ſoon as we came up to them, we fired our piſtols in their faces, and then drew; but they fled in the greateſt confuſion imaginable; the only ſtand any of them made, was on our right where three of them ſtood, and, by ſigns, called the reſt to come back to them, having a kind of ſcymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without aſking any body to follow him, galloped up cloſe to them, and with his fuſil knocked one of them off the horſe, killed the ſecond with his piſtol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight: But we had this misfortune attending it, *viz.* That all our mutton that we had in chace got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but, as for the *Tartars*, there were about five of them killed; how many there were wounded, we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party was ſo frighted with the noiſe of our guns, that they fled, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the *Chineſe* dominions, and therefore the *Tartars* were not ſo bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vaſt great wild deſart, which held us three days and three nights march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and encamp all night, juſt as I have heard they do in the deſarts of *Arabia*.

I asked our guides, Whoſe dominion this was in? and they told us this was a kind of border, that might be called *No Man's Land*; being part of the *Great Karakathay*, or *Grand Tartary*; but that however, it was reckoned to *China*; that there was no care taken here, to preſerve it from the inroads of thieves; and therefore it was reckoned the worſt deſart in the whole march, tho' we were to go over ſome much larger.

In paſſing this wilderneſs, which, I confeſs, was at the firſt view very frightful to me, we ſaw two or three times little parties of the *Tartars*, but they ſeemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no deſign upon us; and ſo, like the man who met the devil, if they had nothing to ſay to us, we had nothing to ſay to them; we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came ſo near as to ſtand and gaze at us; whether it was to conſider what they ſhould do, *viz.* to attack us, or not attack us, we knew not; but when we were paſſed at ſome diſtance by them, we made a rear-guard of forty men, and ſtood ready for them, letting the caravan paſs half a mile, or thereabouts, before us: After a while they marched off, only we found they aſſaulted us with five arrows at their parting; one of which wounded a

horſe, ſo that it diſabled him; and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier; we ſuppoſe they might ſhoot more arrows, which might fall ſhort of us; but we ſaw no more arrows, or *Tartars*, at that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not ſo good as at firſt, though ſtill in the dominions of the emperor of *China*; but lay for the moſt part, in villages, ſome of which were fortified, becauſe of the incurſions of the *Tartars*. When we came to one of theſe towns (it was about two days and an half's journey before we were to come to the city of *Naum*) I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be ſold all the way upon the road, and of horſes alſo, ſuch as they are, becauſe ſo many caravans coming that way, they are very often wanted. The perſon that I ſpoke to, to get me a camel would have gone and fetched it for me; but I, like a fool, muſt be officious, and go myſelf along with him. The place was about two miles out of the village, where it ſeems, they kept the camels and horſes feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot, with my old pilot in company, and a *Chineſe*, being deſirous, forſooth, of a little variety. When we came to this place, it was a low marſhy ground, walled round with a ſtone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth, among it, like a park, with a little guard of *Chineſe* ſoldiers at the doors: Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away; and the *Chineſe* man, that went with me, led the camel, when on a ſudden up came five *Tartars* on horſeback; two of them ſeized the fellow, and

took the camel from him, while the other three ſtepped up to me and my old pilot; ſeeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my ſword, which could but ill defend me againſt three horſemen. The firſt that came up, ſtopped ſhort upon my drawing my ſword (for they are arrant cowards) but a ſecond coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterward, and wondered, when I came to myſelf what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot the *Portugueſe* (ſo providence unlook'd for directs the deliverances from dangers, which to us are unforeſeen) had a piſtol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the *Tartars* neither; if they had, I ſuppoſe they would not have attacked us. But cowards are always boldeſt when there is no danger.

The old man, ſeeing me down, with a bold heart ſtepped up to the fellow that had ſtruck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, he ſhot him into the head, and laid him dead on the ſpot; he then immediately ſtepped up to him that had ſtopped us, as I ſaid, and before he could come forward again (for it was all done as it were in a moment) made a blow at him with a ſcymitar, which he always wore; but, miſſing the man, cut his horſe into the ſide of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great ſlice down the ſide of his face. The poor beaſt, enraged with the wounds, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow ſat well enough too; but away he flew, and carried him quite

out of the pilot's reach, and at ſome diſtance riſing upon his hind legs, threw down the *Tartar*, and fell upon him.

In the interval the poor *Chineſe* came in who had loſt the camel, but he had no weapon; however, ſeeing the *Tartar* down, and his horſe fallen upon him, he runs to him, and, ſeizing upon an ugly ill favoured weapon he had by his ſide, ſomething like a pole-ax, but not a pole-ax neither, he wrenched it from him, and made ſhift to knock his *Tartarian* brains out with it. But my old man had the third *Tartar* to deal with ſtill; and, ſeeing he did not fly as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but ſtood ſtock-ſtill, the old man ſtood ſtill too, and falls to work with his tackle to charge his piſtol again; but as ſoon as the *Tartar* ſaw the piſtol, whether he ſuppoſed it to be the ſame, or another, I know not; but away he ſcowred, and left the pilot, my champion, as I called him afterwards, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little awake; for I thought, when I firſt began to awake, that I had been in a ſweet ſleep; but as I ſaid above, I wondered where I was, how I come upon the ground, and what was the matter; in a word, a few minutes after, as ſenſe returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ach; and then in another moment, memory returned, and every thing was preſent to me again.

I jumped up upon my feet inſtantly, and got hold of my ſword, but no enemies in view. I found a *Tartar* lie dead, and his horſe ſtanding very quietly by him:

and, looking farther, I ſaw my champion and deliverer, who had been to ſee what the *Chineſe* had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand; the old man, ſeeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and ſeeing me bloody, would ſee how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow other than the place that was hurt, and it was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this victory; for we loſt a camel and gained a horſe: But that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel; I diſputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the *Chineſe* judge of the place; that is to ſay, in *Engliſh*, we went before a juſtice of the peace. Give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and, having heard both ſides, he gravely aſked the *Chineſe* man that went with me to buy the camel, Whoſe ſervant he was? I am no ſervant, ſaid he, but went with the ſtranger. At whoſe requeſt? ſaid the juſtice. At the ſtranger's requeſt. ſaid he. Why then, ſaid the juſtice, you were the ſtranger's ſervant for the time; and the camel being delivered to his ſervant, it was delivered to him, and he muſt pay for it.

I confeſs the thing was ſo clear, that I had not a word to ſay; but, admiring to ſee ſuch juſt reaſoning upon the conſequence, and ſo accurate ſtating the caſe, I paid willingly for the camel, and ſent for another;

but you may obſerve, I ſent for it; I did not go to fetch it myſelf any more; I had enough of that.

The city of *Naum* is a frontier of the *Chineſe* empire; they call it fortified, and ſo it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the *Tartars* in *Karakathy*, which, I believe, are ſome millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it ſtrong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make thoſe who underſtand it, laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have ſaid, above two days journey of this city, when meſſengers were ſent expreſs to every part of the road, to tell all travellers and caravans to halt, till they had a guard ſent to them; for that an unuſual body of *Tartars*, making ten thouſand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to the travellers; however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we ſhould have a guard. According two days after, we had 200 ſoldiers ſent us from a garriſon of the *Chineſe* on our left. and three hundred more from the city of *Naum*, and with thoſe we advanced boldly; the three hundred ſoldiers from *Naum* marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each ſide of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the center; in this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourſelves a match for the whole ten thouſand *Mogul Tartars*, if they had appeared: but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when marching from

a little well-ſituated town, called *Changu*, we had a river to paſs, where we were obliged to ferry; and had the *Tartars* had intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when the caravan being over, the rear-guard was behind; but they did not appear there.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a deſart of about fifteen or ſixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of duſt they raiſed, we ſaw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the ſpur.

The *Chineſe*, our guard on the front, who had talk'd ſo big the day before, began to ſtagger, and the ſoldiers frequently looked behind them; which is a certain ſign in a ſoldier, that he is juſt ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind; and, being near me, he called out, Seignior *Engleſe*, ſaid he, thoſe fellows muſt be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the *Tartars* come on, they will never ſtand it. I am of your mind, ſaid I: But what courſe muſt be done? Done, ſaid he, let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without it they will every man turn his back. Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the reſt made a line of reſerve; for ſo we marched, leaving the laſt two hundred men to make another body by themſelves, and to guard the camels; only that, if need were, they ſhould ſend an hundred men to aſſiſt the laſt fifty.

In a word, the *Tartars* came on, and an innumerable company they were; how many, we could not tell, but ten thouſand we thought was the leaſt. A party of them came on firſt, and viewed our poſture, traverſing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gun-ſhot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance ſwiftly, and give them a ſalvo on each wing, with their ſhot, which was done; but they went off, and I ſuppoſe went back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and, indeed, that ſalute clogged their ſtomachs; for they immediately halted, ſtood a while to conſider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over the deſign, and ſaid no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumſtances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with ſuch a number

Two days after this we came to the city of *Naum*, or *Naumn*; we thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of 100 crowns or thereabouts, which we gave to the ſoldiers ſent to guard us; and here we reſted one day. This is a garriſon indeed, and there were nine hundred ſoldiers kept here; but the reaſon of it was, that formerly the *Muſcovite* frontiers lay nearer to them than they do now, the *Muſcovite* having abandoned that part of the country (which lies from the city weſt, for about two hundred miles) as deſolate and unfit for uſe; and more eſpecially, being ſo very remote, and ſo difficult to ſend troops thither for its defence; for we had yet above two thouſand miles to *Muſcovy*, properly ſo called.

After this we paſſed ſeveral great rivers, and two dreadful deſarts, one of which we were ſixteen days

paſſing over, and which, as I ſaid, was to be called *No Man's Land*; and on the 13th of *April*, we came to the frontiers of the *Muſcovite* dominions. I think the firſt city, or town, or fortreſs, whatever it might be called, that belonged to the czar of *Muſcovy*, was called *Argun*, being on the weſt ſide of the river *Argun*.

I could not but diſcover an infinite ſatisfaction, that I was now arrived in, as I called it, a chriſtian country; or, at leaſt, in a country governed by chriſtians; for though the *Muſcovites* do, in my opinion, but juſt deſerve the name of chriſtians, yet ſuch they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way. It would certainly occur to any man who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection; I ſay, it would occur to him to reflect, what a bleſſing it is to be brought into the world where the name of God, and of a redeemer, is known, worſhipped and adored, and not where the people, given up by heaven to ſtrong deluſions, worſhip the devil, and proſtrate themſelves to ſtocks and ſtones; worſhip monſters, elements, horrible ſhaped animals, and ſtatues, or images of monſters. Not a town or city we paſſed through but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples, and ignorant people worſhipping even the works of their own hands.

Now we came where, at leaſt, a face of the chriſtian worſhip appeared, where the knee was bowed to Jeſus; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the chriſtian religion was owned, and the name of the true God was called upon, and adored; and it made the very receſſes of my ſoul rejoice to ſee it. I ſaluted the brave

*Scots* merchant I mentioned above, with my firſt acknowledgment of this; and, taking him by the hand, I ſaid to him, Bleſſed be God, we are once again come among chriſtians. He ſmiled, and anſwered, Do not rejoice too ſoon, countryman; theſe *Muſcovites* are but an odd ſort of chriſtians; and but for the name of it, you may ſee very little of the ſubſtance for ſome months farther of our journey.

Well, ſaid I, but ſtill 'tis better than paganiſm, and worſhipping of devils. Why, I'll tell you, ſaid he; except the *Ruſſian* ſoldiers in garriſons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the reſt of this country, for above a thouſand miles farther, is inhabited by the worſt, and moſt ignorant of pagans; and ſo indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greateſt piece of ſolid earth, if I underſtand any thing of the ſurface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the world: We had at leaſt twelve hundred miles to the ſea, eaſtward; we had at leaſt two thouſand to the bottom of the *Baltic* ſea, weſtward; and almoſt three thouſand miles, if we left that ſea, and went on weſt to the *Britiſh* and *French* channels; we had full five thouſand miles to the *Indian* or *Perſian* ſea, ſouth; and about eight hundred miles to the frozen ſea, north: Nay, if ſome people may be believed, there might be no ſea north-eaſt, till we came round the pole, and conſequently into the north-weſt, and ſo had a continent of land into *America*, no mortal knows where; though I could give ſome reaſons why I believe that to be a miſtake too.

As we entered into the *Muſcovite* dominions, a good

while before we came to any conſiderable town, we had nothing to obſerve there but this; firſt, that all the rivers run to the eaſt. As I underſtood by the charts which ſome of our caravans had with them, it was plain, that all thoſe rivers ran into the great river *Yamour*, or *Gammour*. This river, by the natural courſe of it, muſt run into the eaſt ſea, or *Chineſe* ocean. The ſtory they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choaked up with bulruſhes of a monſtrous growth, *viz.* three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I muſt be allowed to ſay, I believe nothing of; but as its navigation is of no uſe, becauſe there is no trade that way the *Tartars* to whom alone it belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle, ſo nobody that ever I heard of, has been curious enough, either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or come up from the mouth of it in ſhips; but this is certain, that this river running due eaſt, in the latitude of 60 degrees, carries a vaſt concourſe of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itſelf into in that latitude; ſo we are ſure of ſea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are ſeveral conſiderable rivers, whoſe ſtreams run as due north as the *Yamour* runs eaſt; and theſe are all found to join their waters with the great river *Tartarus*, named ſo from the nothermoſt nations of the *Mogul Tartars*, who, the *Chineſe* ſay, were the firſt *Tartars* in the world; and who, as our geographers alledge, are the *Gog* and *Magog* mentioned in ſacred ſtory.

Theſe rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to ſpeak of, make it evident, that the northern ocean bounds the land alſo on that ſide;

ſo that it does not ſeem rational in the leaſt to think, that the land can extend itſelf to join with *America* on that ſide, or that there is not a communication between the northern and the eaſtern ocean; but of this I ſhall ſay no more; it was my obſervation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place. We now advanced from the river *Arguna* by eaſy and moderate journies, and were very viſibly obliged to the care the czar of *Muſcovy* has taken, to have cities and towns built in as many places as it is poſſible to place them, where his ſoldiers keep garriſon ſomething like the ſtationary ſoldiers placed by the *Romans* in the remoteſt countries of their empire, ſome of which I had read were particularly placed in *Britain* for the ſecurity of commerce, and for the lodging of travellers; and thus it was here; for wherever we came, though at theſe towns and ſtations, the garriſons and governor were *Ruſſians*, and profeſſed mere *Pagans*, ſacrificing to idols, and worſhipping the ſun, moon, and ſtars, or all the hoſt of heaven; and not only ſo, but were of all the *Heathens* and *Pagans* that ever I met with, the moſt barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's fleſh, as our ſavages of *America* did.

Some inſtances of this we met with in the country between *Arguna*, where we enter the *Muſcovite* dominions, and a city of *Tartars* and *Ruſſians* together, called *Nortzinſkay*; in which ſpace is a continued deſart or foreſt, which coſt us twenty days to travel over it. In a village near the laſt of thoſe places I had the curioſity to go and ſee their way of living; which is moſt brutiſh and unſufferable; they had I ſuppoſe, a great ſacrifice that day; for there ſtood out upon

an old ſtump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil; at leaſt as any thing we can think of to repreſent the devil, can be made; it had an head certainly not ſo much as reſembling any creature that the world ever ſaw; ears as big as goats horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown piece; a noſe like a crooked ram's horn, and a mouth extended four cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under bill; it was dreſſed up in the filthieſt manner that you can ſuppoſe; its upper garment was of ſheep-ſkins, with the wool outward; a great *Tartar* bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it; it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This ſcarecrow was ſet up at the outſide of the village; and when I came near to it, there were ſixteen or ſeventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no diſtinction by their habits, either of body or head; theſe lay all flat on the ground round this formidable block of ſhapeleſs wood. I ſaw no motion among them any more than if they had been logs of wood like their idol; at firſt I really thought they had been ſo; but when I came a little nearer, they ſtarted up upon their feet; and raiſed an howling cry, as if it had been ſo many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away as if they were diſpleaſed at our diſturbing them. A little way off from this monſter, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of ſheep-ſkins and cow-ſkins, dried, ſtood three butchers: I thought they were ſuch; for when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands, and in the middle of the tent appeared three ſheep kill'd, and

one young bullock, or ſteer. Theſe, it ſeems, were ſacrifices to that ſenſeleſs log of an idol; and theſe three men, prieſts belonging to it; and the ſeventeen proſtrated wretches were the people that brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that ſtock.

I confeſs I was more moved at their ſtupidity, and this brutiſh worſhip of an hobgoblin, than ever I was at any thing in my life; to ſee God's moſt glorious and beſt creature, to whom he had granted ſo many advantages, even by creation, above the reſt of the works of his hands veſted with a reaſonable ſoul, and that ſoul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his maker, and be honoured by him; I ſay, to ſee it ſunk and degenerated to a degree more than ſtupid, as to proſtrate itſelf to a frightful nothing a mere imaginary object, dreſſed up by themſelves, and made terrible to themſelves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this ſhould be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into helliſh devotion by the devil himſelf; who, envying to his maker, the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into ſuch groſs, ſurfeiting, ſordid, and brutiſh things, as one would think ſhould ſhock nature itſelf.

But what ſignified all the aſtoniſhment and reflection of thoughts? Thus it was, and I ſaw it before my eyes; and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impoſſible; all my admiration turned to rage; and I rode up to the image or monſter, call it what you will, and with my ſword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two, in the middle, ſo that it hung down

by one of the horns; and one of our men that was with me took hold of the ſheep-ſkin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold a moſt hideous outcry and howling ran thro' the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, ſo that I was glad to ſcour for it; for we ſaw ſome had bows and arrows; but I reſolved from that moment to viſit them again.

Our caravan reſted three nights at the town which was about four miles off, in order to provide ſome horſes, which they wanted, ſeveral of the horſes having been lamed and jaded with the badneſs of the way, and our long march over the laſt deſart; ſo we had ſome leiſure here to put my deſign in execution. I communicated my project to the *Scots* merchant of *Moſcow*, of whoſe courage I had had ſufficient teſtimony, as above. I told him what I had ſeen, and with what indignation I had ſince thought, that human nature could be ſo degenerate. I told him I was reſolved, if I could get but four or five men well armed, to go with me, to go and deſtroy that abominable idol; to let them ſee, that it had no power to help itſelf, and conſequently could not be an object of worſhip, or to be prayed to, much leſs help them that offered ſacrifices to it.

He laughed at me: Said he, Your zeal may be good; but what do you propoſe to yourſelf by it? Propoſe! ſaid I; to vindicate the honour of God, which is inſulted by this devil-worſhip. But how will it vindicate the honour of God? ſaid he, while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unleſs you could ſpeak to them too, and tell them ſo;

and then they will fight you too, I will aſſure you; for they are deſperate fellows, and that eſpecially in defence of their idolatry. Can we not, ſaid I, do it in the night, and then leave them the reaſons in writing in their own language? Writing! ſaid he, why there is not in five nations of them, one man that knows any thing of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own. Wretched ignorance! ſaid I to him; however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them ſee how brutiſh they are, to worſhip ſuch horrid things. Look you, Sir, ſaid he, if your zeal prompts you to it ſo warmly, you muſt do it; but, in the next place, I would have you conſider, theſe wild nations of people are ſubjected, by force, to the czar of *Muſcovy*'s dominions; and if you do this, 'tis ten to one but they will come by thouſands to the governor of *Nertzinſkay*, and complain, and demand ſatisfaction; and if he cannot give them ſatisfaction, 'tis ten to one but they revolt; and it will occaſion a new war with all the *Tartars* in the country.

This, I confeſs, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the ſame ſtring ſtill; and all the day I was uneaſy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening the *Scots* merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and deſired to ſpeak with me: I believe, ſaid he, I have put you off of your good deſign; I have been a little concerned for it ſince; for I abhor the idol and idolatry as much as you can do. Truly, ſaid I, you have put it off a little as to the execution of it, but you have not put it all out of my thoughts; and, I believe, I

ſhall do it ſtill before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for ſatisfaction. No, no, ſaid he; God forbid they ſhould deliver you to ſuch a crew of monſters! they ſhall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed. Why, ſaid I, how would they uſe me? Uſe you, ſaid he; I'll tell you how they ſerved a poor *Ruſſian*, who affronted them in their worſhip juſt as you did, and whom they took priſoner; after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away, they took him, and ſtripped him ſtark naked, and ſet him upon the top of the idol-monſter, and ſtood all round him, and ſhot as many arrows into him as would ſtick over his whole body; and then they burnt him, and all the arrows ſticking in him, as a ſacrifice to the idol. And was this the ſame idol? ſaid I. Yes, ſaid he, the very ſame. Well, ſaid I, I will tell you a ſtory: So I related the ſtory of our men at *Madagaſcar*, and how they burned and ſacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for the murdering one of our men, juſt as it is related before; and when I had done, I added that I thought we ought to do ſo to this village.

He liſtened very attentively to the ſtory; but when I talked of doing ſo to that village, he ſaid, You miſtake very much; it was not this village, it was almoſt a hundred miles from this place; but it was the ſame idol, for they carry him about in proceſſion all over the country. Well, ſaid I, then that idol ought to be puniſhed for it; and it ſhall, ſaid I, if I live this night out.

In a word, finding me reſolute, he liked the deſign,

and told me I ſhould not go alone, but he would go with me; but he would go firſt and bring a ſtout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go alſo with us: and one, ſaid he, as famous for his zeal as you can deſire any one to be, againſt ſuch deviliſh things as theſe. In a word, he brought me his comrade, a *Scotſman*, whom he called Captain *Richardſon*; and I gave him a full account of what I had ſeen, and alſo of what I intended; and he told me readily, he would go with me, if it coſt him his life. So we agreed to go, only we three. I had indeed propoſed it to my partner; but he declined it. He ſaid, he was ready to aſſiſt me to the utmoſt, and upon all occaſions for my defence; but that this was an adventure quite out of his way: So, I ſay, we reſolved upon our work, only we three, and my man-ſervant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the ſecrecy imaginable.

However, upon ſecond thoughts, we were willing to delay it till the next night, becauſe the caravan being to ſet forward in the morning, we ſuppoſed the governour could not pretend to give them any ſatisfaction upon us when we were out of his power; the *Scots* merchant, as ſteady in his reſolution to enterprize it, as bold in executing, brought me a *Tartar*'s robe or gown of ſheepſkins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the ſame for himſelf and his countryman, that the people, if they ſaw us ſhould not be able to determine who we were.

All the firſt night we ſpent in mixing up combuſtible matter with Aqua-vitæ, gunpowder, and ſuch other materials as we could get; and having a good

quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we ſet out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the leaſt jealouſy of danger attending their idol; the night was cloudy; yet the moon gave us light enough to ſee, that the idol ſtood juſt in the ſame poſture and place that it did before. The people ſeemed to be all at their reſt; only, that in the great hut, or tent, as we called it, where we ſaw the three prieſts whom we miſtook for butchers, we ſaw a light, and, going up cloſe to the door, we heard people talking, as if there were five or ſix of them; we concluded therefore, that if we ſet wildfire to the idol, theſe men would come out immediately, and run up to the place to reſcue it from the deſtruction that we intended for it; and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away, and ſetting fire to it at a diſtance; but when we came to handle it, we found it too bulky for our carriage; ſo we were at a loſs again. The ſecond *Scotſman* was for ſetting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head, when they came out, but I could not join with that; I was againſt killing them, if it was poſſible to be avoided. Well then, ſaid the *Scots* merchant, I will tell you what we will do; we will try to take them priſoners, tie their hands, and make them ſtand and ſee their idol deſtroyed.

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which we uſed to tie our fire-works together with; ſo we reſolved to attack theſe people firſt and with as little noiſe as we could. The firſt thing

we did we knocked at the door, when one of the prieſts coming to the door, we immediately ſeized upon him, ſtopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him, and led him to the idol, where we gagged him, that he might not make a noiſe; tied his feet together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to ſee what the matter was; but we waited ſo long till the third man came back to us; and then, nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we ſerved them juſt in the ſame manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol ſome diſtance from one another; when, going back, we found two more were come out to the door, and a third ſtood behind them within the door. We ſeized the two, and immediately tied them, when the third ſtepping back, and crying out, my *Scots* merchant went in after him, and taking out a compoſition we had made, that would only ſmoke and ſtink, he ſet fire to it, and threw it among them; by that time the other *Scotſman*, and my man taking charge of the two men already bound, and tied together alſo by the arm, lead them away to the idol, and left them there to ſee if their idol would relieve them, making haſte back to us.

When the furze we had thrown in had filled the hut with ſo much ſmoke, that they were almoſt ſuffocated, we then threw in a ſmall leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and, following it in, we found there were but four people left, who, it ſeems, were two men and two women, and, as we ſuppoſed,

had been about ſome of their diabolical ſacrifices. They appeared, in ſhort, frighted to death, at leaſt ſo as to ſit trembling and ſtupid, and not able to ſpeak neither, for the ſmoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the other, and all without any noiſe. I ſhould have ſaid, we brought them out of the houſe, or hut, firſt; for, indeed, we were not able to bear the ſmoke any more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them all together to the idol; when we came there we fell to work with him; and firſt we daubed him all over, and his robes alſo, with tar, and ſuch other ſtuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimſtone; then we ſtopped his eyes, and ears, and mouth full of gunpowder; then we wrapped up a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet; and then ſticking all the combuſtibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to ſee if we could find any thing elſe to help to burn him; when my *Scotſman* remembered, that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether ſtraw or ruſhes I do not remember; away he and the other *Scotſman* ran, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our priſoners and brought them, having untied their feet, and ungagged their mouths, and made them ſtand up, and ſet them juſt before their monſtrous idol, and then ſet fire to the whole.

We ſtayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and as we could perceive, had ſplit and deformed the ſhape of it; and, in a word, till we ſaw

it burn into a mere block or log of wood; and then ſetting the dry forage to it, we found it would be ſoon quite conſumed, ſo we began to think of going away; but the *Scotſman* ſaid: No, we muſt not go: for theſe poor deluded wretches will all throw themſelves into the fire, and burn themſelves with the idol; ſo we reſolved to ſtay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away, and left them.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow-travellers, exceeding buſy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man ſuggeſt, that we had been any where but in our beds, as travellers might be ſuppoſed to be, to fit themſelves for the fatigues of that day's journey.

But it did not end ſo; for the next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of an hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates; and in a moſt outragious manner, demanded ſatisfaction of the *Ruſſian* governor, for the inſulting their prieſts and burning their great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, ſuch an hard name they gave the monſtrous creature they worſhipped; the people of *Nertzinskay* were at firſt in a great conſternation; for, they ſaid, the *Tartars* were no leſs than thirty thouſand, and that in a few days more, they would be one hundred thouſand ſtrong.

The *Ruſſian* governor ſent out meſſengers to appeaſe them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He aſſured them he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a ſoul of his garriſon been abroad; that it could not be from any body there; that if they would let him know who it was, they ſhould be exemplarily

puniſhed. They returned haughtily, That all the country reverenced the great *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, who dwelt in the ſun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image, but ſome chriſtian miſcreant; ſo they called them it ſeems: and they therefore denounced war againſt him, and all the *Ruſſians*, who, they ſaid, were miſcreants and chriſtians.

The governor, ſtill patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cauſe of war alledged to be given by him, the czar having ſtraitly charged him to treat the conquered country with gentleneſs and civility, gave them ſtill all the good words he could; at laſt he told them, there was a caravan gone towards *Ruſſia* that morning, and, perhaps, it was ſome of them who had done them that injury; and that if they would be ſatisfied with that, he would ſend after them to inquire into it. This ſeemed to appeaſe them a little; and accordingly the governor ſent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was; intimating withal, that if any of our caravan did it, they ſhould make their eſcape; but whether they had done it, or no, we ſhould make all the haſte forward that was poſſible; and that in the mean time, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor. However, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew any thing of the matter and as for us that were guilty, we were the leaſt of all ſuſpected; none ſo much as aſked us the queſtion; however, the captain of the caravan, for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any conſiderable ſtop,

and then we lay at a village called *Plothus*; nor did we make any long ſtop here, but haſtened on towards *Jarawena*, another of the czar of *Muſcovy*'s colonies, and where we expected we ſhould be ſafe; but it is to be obſerved, that here we began, for two or three days march, to enter upon a vaſt nameleſs deſart, of which I ſhall ſay more in its place; and which if we had now been upon it, it is more than probable, we had been all deſtroyed. It was the ſecond day's march from *Plothus*, that, by the clouds of duſt behind us at a great diſtance, ſome of our people began to be ſenſible we were purſued; we had entered the deſart, and had paſſed by a great lake called *Schanks Oſier*, when we perceived a very great body of horſe appear on the other ſide of the lake to the north, we travelling weſt. We obſerved they went away weſt, as we did; but had ſuppoſed we ſhould have taken that ſide of the lake, whereas we very happily took the ſouth ſide; and in two days more we ſaw them not, for they, believing we were ſtill before them, puſhed on, till they came to the river *Udda:* this is a very great river when it paſſes farther north; but when we came to it, we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day they either found their miſtake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us, towards the duſk of the evening. We had, to our great ſatisfaction, juſt pitched upon a place for our camp, which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a deſart, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and, indeed, expected none but the city *Jarawena*, which we had yet two days march to;

the deſart, however, had ſome few woods in it on this ſide, and little rivers, which ran all into the river *Udda*. It was in a narrow ſtreight between two ſmall but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody knew but ourſelves, what we were purſued for; but as it was uſual for the *Mogul Tartars* to go about in troops in that deſart, ſo the caravans always fortify themſelves every night againſt them, as againſt armies of robbers; and it was therefore no new thing to be purſued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a moſt advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running juſt before our front; ſo that we could not be ſurrounded or attacked any way, but in our front or rear; we took care alſo to make our front as ſtrong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horſes, all in a line on the inſide of the river, and we felled ſome trees in our rear.

In this poſture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finiſhed our ſituation: They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but ſent three meſſengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them, that had abuſed their prieſts, and burnt their God *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they ſaid, they would go away, and do us no farther harm, otherwiſe they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this meſſage, and began to ſtare at one another, to ſee who looked with moſt guilt in their faces; but, *nobody* was the word, nobody did it.

The leader of the caravan ſent word, he was well aſſured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants travelling on our buſineſs; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one elſe; and therefore they muſt look farther for their enemies, who had injured them, for we were not the people; ſo deſired them not to diſturb us; for if they did, we ſhould defend ourſelves.

They were far from being ſatisfied with this for an anſwer, and a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but, ſeeing us in ſuch an advantageous ſituation, they durſt come no farther than the brook in our front, where they ſtood, and ſhewed us ſuch a number, as, indeed, terrified us very much; for thoſe that ſpoke leaſt of them ſpoke of ten thouſand. Here they ſtood, and looked at us a while, and then ſetting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we were ſheltered under our baggage; and I do not remember that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this, we ſaw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a *Coſſack*, as they call them, of *Jarawena*, in the pay of the *Muſcovites*, calling to the leader of the caravan, ſaid to him, I will go ſend all theſe people away to *Sibeilka*; this was a city four or five days journey, at leaſt, to the ſouth, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows; and, getting on horſeback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were, back to *Nertzinskay*; after this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the *Tar-*

*tars*, as if he had been ſent expreſs to tell them a long ſtory, that the people who had burnt the *Cham-Chi-Thaungu*, were gone to *Sibeilka*, with a caravan of miſcreants, as he called them; that is to ſay, *chriſtians*; and that they were reſolved to burn the god *Schal-Iſar* belonging to the *Tongueſes*.

As this fellow was a mere *Tartar*, and perfectly ſpoke their language; he counterfeited ſo well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove, in a moſt violent hurry, to *Sibeilka*, which, it ſeems, was five days journey to the ſouth, and in leſs than three hours they were intirely out of our ſight, and we never heard any more of them, nor ever knew whether they went to that other place called *Sibeilka*, or no.

So we paſſed ſafely on to the city of *Jarawend*, where there was a garriſon of *Muſcovites*; and there we reſted five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the laſt day's march, and with want of reſt in the night.

From this city we had a frightful deſart, which held us three-and-twenty days march. We furniſhed ourſelves with ſome tents here, for the better accommodating ourſelves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured ſixteen carriages, or waggons, of the country for carrying our water and proviſions; and theſe carriages were our defence every night round our little camp; ſo that had the *Tartars* appeared, unleſs they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be ſuppoſed to want reſt again after this long journey; for, in this deſart, we ſaw neither houſe or tree, or ſcarce a buſh; we ſaw, indeed, abun-

dance of the ſable hunters, as they called them; theſe are all *Tartars* of the *Mogul Tartary*, of which this country is a part; and they frequently attack ſmall caravans; but we ſaw no numbers of them together. I was curious to ſee the ſable-ſkins they catched; but I could never ſpeak with any of them; for they durſt not come near us, neither durſt we ſtraggle from our company to go near them.

After we had paſſed this deſart, we came into a country well inhabited; that is to ſay, we found towns and caſtles ſettled by the czar of *Muſcovy*, with garriſons of ſtationary ſoldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country againſt the *Tartars*, who would otherwiſe make it very dangerous travelling; and his czariſh majeſty has given ſuch ſtrict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any *Tartars* heard of in the country, detachments of the garriſon are always ſent to ſee travellers ſafe from ſtation to ſtation.

And thus the governor of *Adinskoy*, whom I had an opportunity to make a viſit to, by means of the *Scotch* merchant who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next ſtation.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to *Europe*, we ſhould find the country better peopled, and the people more civilized; but I found myſelf miſtaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the *Tongueſes* to paſs through; where we ſaw the ſame tokens of paganiſm and barbarity, or worſe, than before; only as they were conquered by the *Muſcovites*, and intirely reduced, they were not ſo dangerous; but,

for rudeneſs of manners, idolatry, and polytheiſm, no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are cloathed all in ſkins of beaſts, and their houſes are built of the ſame. You know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedneſs of their countenances, or their cloaths; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with ſnow, they live under ground in houſes like vaults, which have cavities or caves going from one to another.

If the *Tartars* had their *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* for a whole village or country, theſe had idols in every hut and every cave; beſides, they worſhip the ſtars, the ſun, the water, the ſnow, and, in a word, every thing that they do not underſtand, and they underſtand but very little; ſo that almoſt every element, every uncommon thing, ſets them a ſacrificing.

But I am no more to deſcribe people than countries, any farther than my own ſtory comes to be concerned in them. I met with nothing peculiar to myſelf in all this country, which I reckon was from the deſart which I ſpoke of laſt, at leaſt, four hundred miles, half of it being another deſart, which took up twelve days ſevere travelling, without houſe, tree or buſh; but were obliged again to carry our own proviſions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this deſart, and had travelled two days, we came to *Janezay*, a *Muſcovite* city or ſtation, on the great river *Janezay*. This river, they told us, parted *Europe* from *Aſia*, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree to it; however, it is certainly the eaſtern boundary of the antient *Siberia*, which now makes a province only of the vaſt *Muſcovite* empire, though

it is itſelf equal in bigneſs to the whole empire of *Germany*.

And yet here I obſerved ignorance and paganiſm ſtill prevailed, except in the *Muſcovite* garriſons; all the country between the river *Oby*, and the river *Janezay*, is entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous as the remoteſt of the *Tartars*, nay as any nation, for aught I know, in *Aſia* or *America*. I alſo found which I obſerved to the *Muſcovite* governors, whom I had opportunity to converſe with, that the pagans are not much the wiſer or the nearer chriſtianity, for being under the *Muſcovite* government which they acknowledged was true enough, but, they ſaid, it was none of their buſineſs. That if the czar expected to convert his *Siberian*, or *Tongueſe* or *Tartar* ſubjects, it ſhould be done by ſending clergymen among them not ſoldiers; and they added, with more ſincerity than I expected, that they found it was not ſo much the concern of their monarch, to make the people chriſtians, as it was to make them ſubjects.

From this river to the great river *Oby*, we croſſed a wild uncultivated country; I cannot ſay 'tis a barbarous ſoil; 'tis only barren of people and good management; otherwiſe it is in itſelf a moſt pleaſant, fruitful and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans except ſuch as are ſent among them from *Ruſſia*; for this is the country, I mean on both ſides the river *Oby*, whither the *Muſcovite* criminals, that are not put to death are baniſhed, and from whence it is next to impoſſible they ſhould ever come away.

I have nothing material to ſay of my particular af-

fairs, till I come to *Toboliſki*, the capital of *Siberia*, where I continued ſome time on the following occaſion.

We had been now almoſt ſeven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my parther and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, conſidering that we were bound for *England*, and not for *Moſcow*, to conſider how to diſpoſe of ourſelves. They told us of ſledges and rein-deer to carry us over the ſnow in the winter-time; and, indeed, they have ſuch things, as it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the *Ruſſians* travel more in the winter than they can in the ſummer; becauſe in theſe ſledges they are able to run night and day; the ſnow being frozen, is one univerſal covering to nature, by which the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes are all ſmooth, and hard as a ſtone; and they run upon the ſurface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occaſion to puſh at a winter journey of this kind; I was bound to *England*, not to *Moſcow*, and my route lay two ways; either I muſt go on as the caravan went, till I came to *Jariſlaw*, and then go off weſt for *Narva*, and the gulph of *Finland*, and ſo either by ſea or land to *Dantzick*, where I might poſſibly ſell my *China* cargo to good advantage, or I muſt leave the caravan at a little town on the *Dwina*, from whence I had but ſix days by water to *Arch-Angel*, and from thence might be ſure of ſhipping, either to *England*, *Holland*, or *Hamburgh*.

Now to go any of theſe journies in the winter, would have been prepoſterous; for as to *Dantzick*, the

*Baltick* would be frozen up, and I could not get paſſage; and to go by land in thoſe countries, was far leſs ſafe than among the *Mogul Tartars*; likewiſe to *Arch-Angel* in *October*, all the ſhips would be gone from thence, and even the merchants, who dwell there in ſummer, retire ſouth to *Moſcow* in the winter, when the ſhips are gone; ſo that I ſhould have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a ſcarcity of proviſions, and muſt lie there in an empty town all the winter: So that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and to make proviſion to winter where I was *viz.* at *Tobolſki* in *Siberia*, in the latitude of ſixty degrees, where I was ſure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, *viz.* Plenty of proviſion, ſuch as the country afforded, a warm houſe, with fuel enough, and excellent company; of all which I ſhall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved iſland, where I never felt cold, except when I had the ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear my cloaths on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and for my neceſſity in dreſſing my food, *&c.* Now I made me three good veſts, with large robes or gowns over them to hang down to the feet, and button cloſe to the wriſts, and all theſe well lined with furs, to make them ſufficiently warm.

As to a warm houſe, I muſt confeſs, I greatly diſlike our way in *England*, of making fires in every room in the houſe, in open chimneys, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold

as the climate. But taking an apartment in a good houſe in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of ſix ſeveral rooms, like a ſtove, the funnel to carry the ſmoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire ſeen: like as they heat the Bagnios in *England*.

By this means we had always the ſame climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preſerved; and how cold ſoever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we ſaw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with any ſmoke.

The moſt wonderful thing of all was, that it ſhould be poſſible to meet with good company here, in a country ſo barbarous as that of the moſt northerly parts of *Europe*, near the frozen ocean, and within but a very few degrees of *Nova Zembla*.

But this being the country where the ſtate criminals of *Muſcovy*, as I obſerved before, are baniſhed; this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in ſhort, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, ſoldiery, and courtiers of *Muſcovy*. Here were the famous prince *Galilſken* or *Galoffken*, and his ſon, the old general *Roboſtiſky*, and ſeveral other perſons of note, and ſome ladies.

By means of my *Scotch* merchant, whom nevertheleſs I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with ſeveral of the gentlemen, and ſome of them of the firſt rank; and from theſe in the long winter-nights in which I ſtaid here, I received ſeveral agreeable viſits. It was talking one night with a certain prince,

one of the baniſhed miniſters of ſtate belonging to the czar of *Muſcovy*, that my talk of my particular caſe began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things, of the greatneſs, the magnificence, the dominions, and the abſolute power of the emperor of the *Ruſſians*. I interrupted him, and told him, I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the czar of *Muſcovy* was, tho' my dominions were not ſo large, or my people ſo many. The *Ruſſian Grandee* looked a little ſurpriſed, and, fixing his eyes ſteadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him his wonder would ceaſe when I had explained myſelf. Firſt, I told him, I had the abſolute diſpoſal of the lives and fortunes of all my ſubjects: That notwithſtanding my abſolute power, I had not one perſon diſaffected to my government or to my perſon, in all my dominions. He ſhook his head at that, and ſaid, There, indeed, I outdid the czar of *Muſcovy*. I told him, That all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my ſubjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will: That they would all fight for me to the laſt drop; and that never tyrant, for ſuch I acknowledged myſelf to be, was ever ſo univerſally beloved, and yet ſo horribly feared by all his ſubjects.

After amuſing them with theſe riddles in government for a while, I opened the caſe, and told them the ſtory at large of my living in the iſland, and how I managed both myſelf and the people there that were under me, juſt as I have ſince minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the ſtory, and eſpecially the prince, who told me with a ſigh, that the true

greatneſs of life was to be maſter of ourſelves; that he would not have exchanged ſuch a ſtate of life as mine, to have been czar of *Muſcovy*; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he ſeemed to be baniſhed to there, than ever he found in the higheſt authority he enjoyed in the court of his maſter the czar: That the height of human wiſdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumſtances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greateſt ſtorm without. When he came firſt hither, he ſaid, he uſed to tear the hair from his head, and the cloaths from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and conſideration had made him look into himſelf, as well as round himſelf, to things without: that he found the mind of man if it was but once brought to reflect upon the ſtate of univerſal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itſelf, fully ſatisfying to itſelf, and ſuitable to its own beſt ends and deſires, with but very little aſſiſtance from the world. That air to breathe in, food to ſuſtain life, cloaths for warmth, and liberty for exerciſe, in order to health, compleated, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us; and though the greatneſs, the authority, the riches, the pleaſures, which ſome enjoyed in the world, and which he had enjoyed his ſhare of, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he obſerved, that all thoſe things chiefly gratified the coarſeſt of our affections; ſuch as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our ſenſuality; all which were, indeed, the mere product of the worſt part of man, were in themſelves crimes,

and had in them the ſeeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to, or concerned with, any of thoſe virtues that conſtituted us wiſe men, or of thoſe graces that diſtinguiſhed us as chriſtians: That being now deprived of all the fancied felicity, that he enjoyed in the full exerciſe of all thoſe vices, he ſaid, he was at leiſure to look upon the dark ſide of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wiſe, rich, and great, and preſerves him in the way to a ſuperior happineſs in a future ſtate; and in this, he ſaid, they were more happy in their baniſhment, than all their enemies were, that had the full poſſeſſion of all the riches and authority that they (the baniſhed) had left behind them.

Nor, Sir, ſaid he, do I bring my mind to this politically, by the neceſſity of my circumſtances, which ſome call miſerable; but if I know any thing of my ſelf, I would not go back, no, not though my maſter the czar, ſhould call me, and offer to reinſtate me in all my former grandeur; I ſay, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my ſoul, when it ſhall be delivered from this priſon of the body, and has had a taſte of the glorious ſtate beyond life, would come back to the goal of fleſh and blood it is now incloſed in, and leave heaven to deal in the dirt and grime of human affairs.

He ſpoke this with ſo much warmth in his temper, ſo much earneſtneſs and motion of his ſpirits, which were apparent in his countenance, that it was evident it was the true ſenſe of his ſoul. And, indeed, there was no room to doubt his ſincerity.

I told him, I once thought myſelf a kind of a monarch in my old ſtation, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant deſires, and has the abſolute dominion over himſelf, and whoſe reaſon intirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. But, my lord, ſaid I, ſhall I take the liberty to aſk you a queſtion? With all my heart, ſaid he. If the door of your liberty was opened, ſaid I, would you not take hold of it to deliver yourſelf from this exile?

Hold, ſays he, your queſtion is ſubtle, and requires ſome ſerious juſt diſtinctions, to give it a ſincere anſwer; and I'll give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myſelf from this ſtate of baniſhment, except theſe two: Firſt, The enjoyment of my relations; and, ſecondly, A little warmer climate; but I proteſt to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a miniſter of ſtate; the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleaſures, that is to ſay, follies of a courtier, if my maſter ſhould ſend me word this moment, that he reſtores me to all he baniſhed me from; I proteſt, if I know myſelf at all, I would not leave this wilderneſs, theſe deſarts, and theſe frozen lakes, for the palace of *Moſcow*.

But, my lord, ſaid I, perhaps you are not only baniſhed from the pleaſures of the court, and from the power, and authority and wealth you enjoyed before; but you may be abſent too from ſome of the

conveniencies of life; your eſtate, perhaps, confiſcated, and your effects plundered; and the ſupplies left you here may not be ſuitable to the ordinary demands of life.

Ay, ſaid he that is as you ſuppoſe me to be a lord or a prince, &c So, indeed, I am; but you are now to conſider me only as a man, an human creature, not at all diſtinguiſhed from another: and ſo I can ſuffer no want, unleſs I ſhould be viſited with ſickneſs and diſtempers. However, to put that queſtion out of diſpute; you ſee our manner; we are in this place five perſons of rank; we live perfectly retired, as ſuited to a ſtate of baniſhment; we have ſomething reſcued from the ſhipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere neceſſity of hunting for our food, but the poor ſoldiers who are here without that help, live in as much plenty as we They go into the woods and catch ſables and foxes; the labour of a month will maintain them a year; and as the way of living is not expenſive, ſo it is not hard to get ſufficient to ourſelves: So that objection is out of doors.

I have not room to give a full account of the moſt agreeable converſation I had with this truly great man; in all which he ſhewed, that his mind was ſo inſpired with a ſuperior knowledge of things, ſo ſupported by religion, as well as by a vaſt ſhare of wiſdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expreſſed, and that he was always the ſame to the laſt, as will appear in the ſtory I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark dreadful winter I thought it to be; the cold was ſo intenſe, that

I could not ſo much as look abroad, without being wrapt in furs, and a maſk of furs before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for ſight. The little day-light we had, was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five hours a day, and ſix at moſt; only that the ſnow lying on the ground continually, and the weather clear, it was never quite dark. Our horſes were kept (or rather ſtarved) under ground; and, as for our ſervants (for we hired ſervants here to look after our horſes and ſelves) we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw and take care of, leſt they ſhould mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houſes being cloſe, the walls thick, the lights ſmall, and the glaſs double. Our food was chiefly the fleſh of deer, dried and cured in the ſeaſon; good bread enough, but baked as biſcuit; dried fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome fleſh of mutton, and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the ſtores of proviſion for the winter are laid up in ſummer, and well cured; our drink was water mixed with Aqua-vitæ inſtead of brandy; and, for a treat, mead inſtead of wine, which however, they have excellent good, and ſometimes bears fleſh, but we did not much care for the laſt We had a good ſtock of tea, with which we treated our friends as above; and, in a word, we lived very chearfully and well, all things conſidered.

It was now *March*, and the days grown conſiderably longer, and the weather at leaſt tolerable ſo other travellers began to prepare ſledges to carry them over the ſnow, and to get things ready to be going;

but my meaſures being fixed, as I have ſaid, for *Arch-Angel*, and not for *Muſcovy* or the *Baltick*, I made no motion, knowing very well, that the ſhips from the ſouth do not ſet out for that part of the world till *May* or *June*; and that if I was there at the beginning of *Auguſt*, it would be as ſoon as any ſhips would be ready to go away; and therefore, I ſay, I made no haſte to be gone, as others did; in a word, I ſaw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It ſeems every year they go from thence to *Moſcow* for trade; *viz.* to carry furs, and buy neceſſaries with them, which they bring back to furniſh their ſhops; alſo others went on the ſame errand to *Arch-Angel*; but then they alſo, being to come back again above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In ſhort, about the latter end of *May*, I began to make all ready to pack up; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that ſeeing all theſe people were baniſhed by the czar of *Muſcovy* to *Siberia*, and yet, when they came there, were at liberty to go whither they would; why they did not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit? And I began to examine what ſhould hinder them from making ſuch an attempt.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that ſubject with the perſon I have mentioned, who anſwered me thus: Conſider, firſt, Sir, ſaid he, the place where we are; and, ſecondly, the condition we are in; eſpecially, ſaid he, the generality of the people who are baniſhed hither. We are ſurrounded, ſaid he, with ſtronger things than bars and bolts; on the north

ſide is an unnavigable ocean, where ſhips never ſailed, and boats never ſwam; neither, if we had both, could we know whither to go with them. Every other way, ſaid he, we have above a thouſand miles to paſs thro' the czar's own dominions and by-ways utterly impaſſable, except by the roads made by the government, and through towns garriſoned by his troops; ſo that we could neither paſs undiſcovered by the road, or ſubſiſt any other way; ſo that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was ſilenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a priſon, every jot as ſecure, as if they had been locked up in the caſtle of *Moſcow*; however, it came into my thoughts, that I might certainly be made an inſtrument to procure the eſcape of this excellent perſon, and that it was very eaſy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to *Moſcow*, but to *Arch-Angel*, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the ſtationary towns in the deſart, but could encamp every night where I would, we might eaſily paſs uninterrupted to *Arch-Angel*, where I would immediately ſecure him on board an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhip, and carry him off ſafe along with me; and, as to his ſubſiſtence, and other particulars, that ſhould be my care, till he ſhould better ſupply himſelf.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earneſtly on me all the while I ſpoke; nay, I could ſee in his very face, that what I ſaid put his ſpirits into an exceeding ferment; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might

be even perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately anſwer me, when I had done, and, as it were, expected what he would ſay to it; and after he had paus'd a little, he embraced me, and ſaid, How unhappy are we! unguided creatures as we are, that even our greateſt acts of friendſhip are made ſnares to us and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend, ſaid he, your offer is ſo ſincere, has ſuch kindneſs in it, is ſo diſintereſted in itſelf, and is ſo calculated for my advantage, that I muſt have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it: But did you believe I was ſincere in what I have ſo often ſaid to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I ſpoke my very ſoul to you and that I had really attained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me? Did you believe I was ſincere, when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that once I was in the court, and with the favour of the czar my maſter? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honeſt man, or did you think me to be a boaſting hypocrite? Here he ſtopped, as if he would hear what I would ſay; but, indeed, I ſoon perceived, that he ſtopped becauſe his ſpirits were in motion; his heart was full of ſtruggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confeſs, aſtoniſhed at the thing, as well as at the man, and I uſed ſome arguments with him to urge him to ſet himſelf free: That he ought to look upon this as a door opened by heaven for his deliverance, and a ſummons by providence, who has the care and good diſpoſition of all e-

vents, to do himſelf good, and to render himſelf uſeful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himſelf: How do you know, Sir, ſaid he, warmly, but that inſtead of a ſummons from heaven, it may be a feint of another inſtrument, repreſenting, in all the alluring colours, to me, the ſhew of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itſelf be my ſnare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miſerable greatneſs; there I am not ſure, but that all the ſeeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury which I know remain in my nature, may revive and take root, and, in a word again overwhelm me; and then the happy priſoner, whom you ſee now maſter of his ſoul's liberty, ſhall be the miſerable ſlave of his own ſenſes, in the full of all perſonal liberty. Dear Sir, let me remain in this bleſſed confinement, baniſhed from the crimes of life, rather than purchaſe a ſhew of freedom, at the expence of the liberty of my reaſon, and at the expence of the future happineſs which now I have in my view. but ſhall then, I fear, quickly loſe ſight of; for I am but fleſh, a man, a mere man, have paſſions and affections as likely to poſſeſs and over throw me as any man: O be not my friend and my tempter both together!

If I was ſurpriſed before, I was quite dumb now, and ſtood ſilent, looking at him; and, indeed, admired what I ſaw; the ſtruggle in his ſoul was ſo great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a moſt violent ſweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; ſo I ſaid a word or two, that I would leave him to conſider of it, and wait

on him again; and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard ſomebody at or near the door of the room, and I was going to open the door; but he had opened it, and came in: My dear friend, ſaid he, you had almoſt overſet me, but I am recovered: Do not take it ill that I do not cloſe with your offer; I aſſure you, it is not for want of a ſenſe of the kindneſs of it in you; and I came to make the moſt ſincere acknowledgment of it to you; but I hope I have got the victory over myſelf.

My lord, ſaid I, I hope you are fully ſatisfied, that you do not reſiſt the call of heaven. Sir, ſaid he, if it had been from heaven, the ſame power would have influenced me to accept it; but, I hope, and am fully ſatisfied, that it is from heaven that I decline it; and I have an infinite ſatisfaction in the parting, that you ſhall leave me an honeſt man ſtill, though not a free man.

I had nothing to do but to acquieſce, and make profeſſions to him of my having no end in it, but a ſincere deſire to ſerve him. He embraced me very paſſionately, and aſſured me, he was very ſenſible of that, and ſhould always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine preſent of ſables, too much indeed, for me to accept from a man in his circumſtances, and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refuſed.

The next morning I ſent my ſervant to his lordſhip, with a ſmall preſent of tea, two pieces of *China* damaſk, and four little wedges of *Japan* gold, which did not all weigh above ſix ounces, or thereabouts; but

were far ſhort of the value of his ſables, which, indeed, when I came to *England* I found worth near two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damaſk, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine ſtamp upon it, of the *Japan* coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and ſent word by my ſervant, that he deſired to ſpeak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had paſſed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that ſince I made ſuch a generous offer to him, he aſked me, if I had kindneſs enough to offer the ſame to another perſon that he would name to me, in whom he had a great ſhare of concern. I told him, That I could not ſay I inclined to do ſo much for any one but himſelf, for whom I had a particular value, and ſhould have been glad to have been the inſtrument of his deliverance; however, if he would pleaſe to name the perſon to me, I ſhould give him my anſwer, and hoped he would not be diſpleaſed with me, if he was with my anſwer. He told me, it was his only ſon, who, though I had not ſeen, yet was in the ſame condition with himſelf, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other ſide the *Oby*; but that, if I conſented, he would ſend for him.

I made no heſitation, but told him I would do it: I made ſome ceremony in letting him underſtand, that it was entirely on his account; and that ſeeing I could not prevail on him, I ſhould ſhew my reſpect to him, by my concern for his ſon: But theſe things are too tedious to repeat here. He ſent away the next day

for his ſon, and in about twenty days he came back with the meſſengers, bringing ſix or ſeven horſes, loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a great value.

His ſervants brought the horſes into the town, but left the young lord at a diſtance till night, when he came *incognito* into our apartment, and his father preſented him to me; and, in ſhort, we concerted there the manner of our travelling and every thing proper for the journey.

I had bought a conſiderable quantity of ſables, black fox-ſkins, fine ermins, and ſuch other furs that are very rich; I ſay, I had bought them in that city for exchange for ſome of the goods brought from *China*; in particular for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I ſold the greateſt part here, and the reſt afterwards at *Arch-Angel*, for a much better price than I could have done at *London*; and my partner, who was ſenſible of the profit. and whoſe buſineſs more particularly than mine, was merchandize, was mightily pleaſed with our ſtay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was the beginning of *June*, when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is ſo far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it ſhould be much talked of. We were now come to a very ſmall caravan, being only thirty-two horſes and camels in all, and all of them paſſed for mine, tho' my new gueſt was proprietor of eleven of them. It was moſt natural alſo, that I ſhould take more ſervants with me than I had before, and the young lord paſſed for my ſtew-

ard; what great man I paſſed for myſelf I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worſt and the largeſt deſart to paſs over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worſt, becauſe the way was very deep in ſome places, and very uneven in others; the beſt we had to ſay for it was, that we thought we had no troops of *Tartars* and robbers to fear and that they never came on this ſide the river *Oby*, or at leaſt but very ſeldom; but we found it otherwiſe.

My young lord had with him a faithful *Muſcovite* ſervant, or rather a *Siberian* ſervant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country; and who led us by private roads, that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities, upon the great road, ſuch as *Tumen*, *Scloy-Kamoskoy*, and ſeveral others; becauſe the *Muſcovite* garriſons which are kept there are very curious, and ſtrict in their obſervation upon travellers, and ſearching leſt any of the baniſhed perſons of note ſhould make their eſcape that way into *Muſcovy*; but by this means as we were kept out of the cities, ſo our whole journey was a deſart, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had good accommodation in the cities on the way: This the young lord was ſo ſenſible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad, when we came to ſeveral cities on the way; but lay abroad himſelf with his ſervant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were juſt entered *Europe*, having paſſed the river *Kama*, which, in theſe parts, is the boundary between *Europe* and *Aſia*; and the firſt city on the *Eu-*

*ropean* ſide was called *Soloy-Kamoskoy*, which is as much as to ſay, the great city on the river *Kama*; and here we thought to have ſeen ſome evident alteration in the people, their manners, their habit, their religion, and their buſineſs; but we were miſtaken; for as we had a great deſart to paſs, which, by relation, is near ſeven hundred miles long in ſome places, but not above two hundred miles over where we paſſed it; ſo, till we came paſt that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country and the *Mogul Tartary*: the people moſtly pagans, and little better than the ſavages of *America*; their houſes and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them; where they are chriſtians as they call themſelves, of the *Greek* church; but even theſe have their religion mingled with ſo many reliques of ſuperſtition, that it is ſcarce to be known in ſome places for mere ſorcery and witchcraft.

In paſſing this foreſt, I thought, indeed, we muſt, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, eſcaped, as before, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered by a troop of thieves: of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the *Oſtiachi*, a kind of *Tartars*, or wild people on the banks of the *Oby*, had ranged thus far; or whether they were the ſable-hunters of *Siberia*, I am yet at a loſs to know; but they were all or horſeback, carried bows and arrows, and were at firſt about five-and-forty in number; they came ſo near to us, as within about two muſquet-ſhot, and, aſking no queſtions, they ſurrounded us with their horſe, and looked very ear-

neſtly upon us twice; at length they placed themſelves juſt in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above ſixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and ſent out the *Siberian* ſervant, who attended his lord, to ſee who they were; his maſter was the more willing to let him go, becauſe he was not a little apprehenſive that they were a *Siberian* troop ſent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them; but though he ſpoke ſeveral of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not underſtand a word they ſaid; however, after ſome ſigns to him, not to come nearer to them at his peril; ſo he ſaid he underſtood them to mean offering to ſhoot at him if he advanced: the fellow came back no wiſer than he went, only that by their dreſs, he ſaid, he believed them to be ſome *Tartars* of *Kalmuck* or of the *Circaſſian* hords; and that there muſt be more of them on the great deſart, tho' he never heard that ever any of them were ſeen ſo far north before.

This was ſmall comfort to us; however we had no remedy: There was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's diſtance, a little grove or clump of trees, which ſtood cloſe together, and very near the road; I immediately reſolved we would advance to thoſe trees, and fortify ourſelves as well as we could there; for, firſt, I conſidered that the trees would in a great meaſure cover us from their arrows, and, in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body: It was indeed my old *Portugueſe* pilot who propoſed it; and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readieſt and moſt apt to

direct and encourage us in caſes of the moſt danger. We advanced immediately with what ſpeed we could and gained that little wood, the *Tartars* or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their ſtand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found to our great ſatisfaction, that it was a ſwampy ſpringy piece of ground, and, on the other ſide, a very great ſpring of water, which runing out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like bigneſs, and was, in ſhort, the head or ſource of a conſiderable river, called afterwards the *Wirtska*; the trees which grew about this ſpring, were not in all above two hundred, but were very large, and ſtood pretty thick; ſo that as ſoon as we got in, we ſaw ourſelves perfectly ſafe from the enemy, unleſs they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But to make this more difficult, our *Portugueſe*, with indefatigable application, cut down great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging, not cut quite off, from one tree to another; ſo that he made a continued fence, almoſt round us.

We ſtaid here, waiting the motion of the enemy ſome hours, without perceiving they made any offer to ſtir; when, about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us; and, though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by ſome more of the ſame, ſo that they were near fourſcore horſe, whereof, however, we fancy'd ſome were women. They came on till they were within half a ſhot of our little wood, when we fired one muſquet without ball, and called to them in the *Ruſſian* tongue, to know

what they wanted, and bid them keep off; but, as if they knew nothing of what we ſaid, they came on with a double fury directly up to the woodſide, not imagining we were ſo barricado'd, that they could not break in: Our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer; and deſired of us, not to fire upon them till they came within piſtol-ſhot, that we might be ſure to kill; and that when we did fire, we ſhould be ſure to take good aim. We bade him give the word of command; which he delayed ſo long, that they were, ſome of them, within two pike's length of us when we fired.

We aimed ſo true (or providence directed our ſhot ſo ſure) that we killed fourteen of them at the firſt volley, and wounded ſeveral others, as alſo ſeveral of their horſes; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets apiece at leaſt.

They were terribly ſurpriſed with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us; in which time we loaded our pieces again, and, ſeeing them keep that diſtance, we ſallied out, and caught four or five of their horſes, whoſe riders we ſuppoſed, were killed; and, coming up to the dead, we could eaſily perceive they were *Tartars*, but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excurſion ſuch an unuſual length.

About an hour after, they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to ſee where elſe they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again, and we reſolved not to ſtir from the place that night.

We ſlept a little you may be ſure; but ſpent the

moſt part of the night in ſtrengthening our ſituation, and barricadoing the entrances into the wood; and, keeping a ſtrict watch, we waited for day-light, and, when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome diſcovery indeed, for the enemy, who we thought were diſcouraged with the reception they met with, were now increaſed to no leſs than three hundred, and had ſet up eleven or twelve huts or tents as if they were reſolved to beſiege us; and this little camp they had pitched, was upon the open plain, at about three quarters of a mile from us. We were, indeed, ſurpriſed at this diſcovery; and now, I confeſs, I gave myſelf over for loſt, and all that I had. The loſs of my effects did not lie ſo near me (tho' they were very conſiderable) as the thoughts of falling into the hands of ſuch barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after ſo many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through; and even in ſight of our port, where we expected ſafety and deliverance. As for my partner, he was raging: he declared, that to loſe his goods would be his ruin; and he would rather die than be ſtarved; and he was for fighting to the laſt drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever fleſh ſhewed itſelf, was for fighting to the laſt alſo; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to reſiſt them all, in the ſituation we then were in; and thus we ſpent the day in debates of what we ſhould do; but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies ſtill increaſed: Perhaps, as they were abroad in ſeveral parties for prey, the firſt had ſet out ſcouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of the booty; and we did not know but by the morning they might ſtill be a

greater number; ſo I began to enquire of thoſe people we had brought from *Tobolſki*, if there was no other or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps either retreat to ſome town, or get help to guard us over the deſart.

The *Siberian*, who was a ſervant to the young lord, told us, if we deſigned to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the river *Petraz*, by which he made no queſtion but we might get away, and the *Tartars* never the wiſer; but he ſaid, his lord had told him he would not return, but would rather chuſe to fight. I told him he miſtook his lord, for that he was too wiſe a man to love fighting for the ſake of it; that I knew his lord was brave enough, by what he had ſhewed already; but that his lord knew better, than to deſire to have ſeventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unleſs an unavoidable neceſſity forced them to it; and that if he thought it poſſible for us to eſcape in the night, we had nothing elſe to do but to attempt it. He anſwered, if his lord gave him ſuch order, he would loſe his life, if he did not perform it. We ſoon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And firſt, as ſoon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared ſo as to make it burn all night, that the *Tartars* might conclude we were ſtill there; but, as ſoon as it was dark, that is to ſay, ſo as we could ſee the ſtars (for our guide would not ſtir before) having all our horſes and camels ready loaden, we followed

our new guide, who, I ſoon found, ſteered himſelf by the pole, or north ſtar, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter ſtill, not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to riſe, ſo that, in ſhort, it was rather lighter than we wiſhed it to be; but by ſix o'clock next morning, we were gotten near forty miles, though the truth is, we almoſt ſpoiled our horſes. Here we found a *Ruſſian* village, named *Kirmazinskoy*, where we reſted, and heard nothing of the *Tartars* that day. About two hours before night we ſet out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite ſo haſtily as before; and about ſeven o'clock we paſſed a little river, called *Kirtza*, and came to a good large town inhabited by *Ruſſians*, and very populous, called *Ozomys*: There we heard, that ſeveral troops or hords of *Calmucks* had been abroad upon the deſart, but that we were now compleatly out of danger of them, which was to our great ſatisfaction, you may be ſure. Here we were obliged to get ſome freſh horſes, and, having need enough of reſt, we ſtaid five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honeſt *Siberian*, who brought us thither, the value of ten piſtoles for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to *Veſſima*, upon the river *Wirtzogda*, which running into the river *Dwina*, we were there happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in ſeven days paſſage to *Arch-Angel*: From hence we came to *Lawrenskoy*, where the river joins, the third of *July*; and provided ourſelves with two luggage-boats and a barge for

our convenience; we embarked the ſeventh, and arrived all ſafe at *Arch-Angel* the eighteenth, having been a year, five months, and three days on the journey, including our ſtay of eight months and odd days at *Tobolski*.

We were obliged to ſtay at this place ſix weeks for the arrival of the ſhips, and muſt have tarried longer, had not a *Hamburgher* come in above a month ſooner than any of the *Engliſh* ſhips, when, after ſome conſideration, that the city of *Hamburgh* might happen to be as good a market for our goods as *London*, we all took freight with him; and, having put our goods on board, it was moſt natural for me to put my ſteward on board to take care of them; by which means my young lord had a ſufficient opportunity to conceal himſelf, never coming on ſhore again, in all the time we ſtaid there; and this he did, that he might not be ſeen in the city, where ſome of the *Moſcow* merchants would certainly have ſeen and diſcovered him.

We ſailed from *Arch-Angel* the twentieth of *Auguſt* the ſame year; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the *Elbe*, the thirteenth of *September*; Here my partner and I found a very good ſale for our goods, as well thoſe of *China*, as the ſables, *&c.* of *Siberia*; and dividing the produce of our effects my ſhare amounted to 3475 *l* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* notwithſtanding ſo many loſſes we had ſuſtained, and the charge we had been at; only remembring that I had included, in this, about 600 *l.* worth of diamonds, which I had purchaſed at *Bengal*.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the *Elbe*, in order to go to the court of *Vienna*,

where he reſolved to ſeek protection, and where he could correſpond with thoſe of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the teſtimonies he could give, of gratitude for the ſervice I had done him, and his ſenſe of my kindneſs to the prince his father.

To conclude, having ſtaid near four months in *Hamburgh*, I came from thence, over land to the *Hague*, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in *London*, the 10th of *January*, 1705, having been gone from *England* ten years and nine months.

And here, reſolving to harraſs myſelf no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all theſe, having lived ſeventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned ſufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the bleſſing of ending our days in peace.

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